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UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

THE INUIT TRADESMAN: HIS LEARNING EXPERIENCE

BY

DORIS ANN McCANN

©

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH IN

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MASTER OF EDUCATION

IN

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DEPARTMENT OF ADULT, CAREER AND TECHNOLOGY EDUCATION

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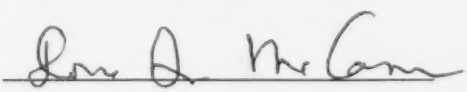

P. O. Box 13
Yellowknife, Northwest Territories
X1A 2N1

March 28, 1996

The University of Alberta

Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled "The Inuit Tradesman: His Learning Experience" submitted by DORIS ANN McCANN in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Education in Adult and Higher Education.

S. M. Scott

J. Oakes

A. K. Deane

March 11, 1996

ABSTRACT

This qualitative study explores the learning experiences of four Inuit tradesmen in Rankin Inlet and Iqaluit, Northwest Territories, Canada. Two electricians, one plumber gasfitter and one motor vehicle mechanic were interviewed. The study focus was (1) what they thought contributed to their trade program completion and (2) the kind of personal learning they experienced in their lives. Major themes that emerged were:

We all had something in common.

Second Nature.

Seeing things happen right now.

A different area code--looking from the outside in.

A whole different perspective and

So that I can go out and [be an] Inuk

Transformative learning, and intellectual development using William Perry's categorizations, are illustrated.

Theoretical propositions are:

1. Trades training and employment fit a contemporary Inuit lifestyle in Nunavut and preserve an evolving culture.
2. Hunting is a model of effective education.
3. "Active Seeing" is characteristic of the tradesmen's intellectual development.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis came from taped conversations from four Inuit tradesmen. It is a great privilege to study original material. I'd like to sincerely thank the men who took on the names: Eepa, Ematalook, Kootoo and White.

There are many people that I need to thank for helping me with this thesis.

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The Government of NWT, Public Works & Services released three employees from work to be interviewed.

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My husband, Dave McCann, helped me with many of the logistics.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Who I am and why I am doing this research

Adult educators are taught that learning starts with what the student already knows. My choice of thesis topic emerges from trying to understand my personal reality, trying to reconcile certain incongruities that I face in my life as an instructor, administrator and resident of the Northwest Territories. The way I see the NWT has not become clearer over the twenty years that I have been here. Rather it has become more confused.

In my personal reality, the eastern part of the NWT, Nunavut, is first and foremost a place. The land, albeit treeless, exists and can be relied on more than anything else. It is a huge land where there is incredible variety and beauty and harshness: ice covered ocean fiords, snow covered tundra, meadows of delicate, pastel coloured tundra flowers, caribou grazing on frozen lichens, rivers teaming with char and seven concurrent days of white out storm conditions. This reality is physical: it is the land.

Then there are the people. First, there are the Inuit, many of whom were born in fishing and hunting camps and others who are only a generation away from that subsistence life on the land. Secondly, there are other Canadians both Anglophone and Francophone, people from Scotland, Ireland,

Bolivia and other countries. Some Qallunaaq[1] have lived in the North all their lives or since the major influx of government in the early 70s. Others stay for only a few months or years.

I see a man walk by with two frozen char sticking out of a backpack. He looks like he himself has fins. My adult students are melancholy as they hear the snowmobiles leaving the community on the way to the ice flows for seal. A student is called from class. She cries out in pain because her nephew has committed suicide. I taste muktuk and polar bear meat at a community feast and curries and lime pickle at a gourmet dinner with Qallunaaq college instructors. I see a girl who is walking with discomfort and who is bruised and beaten. I know that she has been raped and beaten. I see Inuit gathered to share slaughtered beluga whale. Three little nude children giggle and wave through the steamy window of a small house. A mother and daughter in matching "Mother Hubbard" calico parkas walk hand in hand through the school yard. In the spring time, people waiting at the airport are smiling and jubilant, tanned and raccoon-eyed from wearing sun goggles on the land.

Nunavut is a place where Inuit and Qallunaaq work together, hunt and fish together and intermarry and raise families. It is also a place where Qallunaaq, particularly in the 1970s and 1980s have made a lot of money as civil servants who are employed to serve a predominately Inuit, poor population.

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1 Non Inuit. Qallunaaq, like the words Eskimo and Indian, can be considered derogatory because the word is applied by the dominant culture. Many Inuit, First Nation and non Inuit, respectively, accept the terms Eskimo, Indian and Qallunaaq.

Many Qallunaaq are dedicated, caring, hard working people. However, the lasting effects of some programs we (Qallunaaq) have been employed to manage have done little more than provide temporary services and feather southern Canadian bank accounts. There have also been government programs in the NWT which have a lasting and apparently beneficial effect. I have decided to choose to collect data on what I think are positive outcomes because so often the literature is about the negatives.

Previous research on trades training suggests that apprenticeship trades programs are good training programs for Inuit men. The intention of my study is to see what insights Inuit journeymen tradesmen can provide into their trades training to help predominately Qallunaaq educators to make the education in Nunavut better from the stand point of the predominately Inuit population. The qualitative research methodology allows me to collect the experiences, thoughts and theories of four Inuit tradesmen. The data are collected in five interviews. This thesis profiles the men's learning experiences by organizing and expressing fairly and honestly what they had to say in their interviews.

It was only as my research evolved, that I realized what a task I had taken up. My research participants provided excellent insights which can improve education and training in Nunavut, but I am foolhardy to think that I can fully understand and express their thoughts. I adhere to the position articulated by Rupert Ross (1992) in his introduction to Dancing with a Ghost: Exploring Indian Reality:

I, therefore, apologize at the outset to Native people, for I am very likely to misrepresent you. I cannot help but see you through my own culture's eyes....I am at least aware that I am largely unaware of your shadings and subtleties.... I will no doubt draw conclusions which you will find laughingly--or insultingly--incorrect. *I am convinced, however, that we have no choice but to start talking about such things.* (p. xxiii)

Purpose of Research

This study focuses on learners who completed prescribed learning programs through apprenticing to a trade. There are 37 designated trades in the NWT and apprenticeship training combines practical on-the-job training with theoretical classroom instruction. One characteristic of apprenticeship training is the contractual relationships which require commitments from the apprentice and the employer, a certification committee and a funding/administrative agency. A second characteristic of apprenticeship is that it is market-driven. A person interested in becoming a trades person must first find an employer who is willing to hire him or her and release him or her for blocks of time for classroom training.

It is hoped that looking at the experiences of four men who succeeded in completing a training program will lead to recommendations that may be of use, or lead to further research which will be of use to those who provide employment training and basic education to people in Nunavut.

Research Questions

The purpose of the research is to profile the personal learning experiences of four Inuit tradesmen. The following questions were the core of the study:

1. What contributed to the completion of trades programs?
2. What kind of personal learning occurs while becoming a tradesman?

Definitions & Assumptions

A "tradesman" in the context of this research is a male trades-person. A "trades-person" is defined as a journeyman in a trade defined under the Northwest Territories Apprenticeship and Trade Certification Act. The trades of the research participants include plumber-gas fitter, electrician, and automotive mechanic. The personal learning experiences discussed are not necessarily specific to the research participant's trade and include adult basic education, on-the-job training, classroom experience, work experience, family and social life, hobbies and childhood.

The word, Inuit, is used in the sense of Article 95 of the TFN Agreement: "Inuit are best able to define who is an Inuk"[2] and all participants consider themselves to be Inuit. In addition, all research participants are beneficiaries of the Nunavut Land Claims Settlement.

"Inuit-ness" appears to be considered on a continuum by many Inuit themselves. When Bielawski asked one hunter how he figured out where to find

---

[2] "Inuk" is the singular form of Inuit.

the migrating caribou, "he looked at me oddly and said, 'Because we are Inuit, we can do that'" (1992, p. 7). His cultural identity was defined by his abilities. In conversation with an Inuit man, originally from a small community on the Arctic coast, and now living in Yellowknife, I found that core identity was at risk if an Inuk could not perform certain skills. When I asked if he could build an igloo he was visibly shaken and emotional when he responded that he could not.

The basic assumption made in this study is that a trained population is good for Canada and the NWT and the individual. Statistical information indicates an 81% participation rate in the work force or 50% less unemployment for Inuit with certificates (GNWT Labour Force Survey. 1989. p. 29). However, one cannot assume that trades training will guarantee employment because of various factors including lack of jobs and unwillingness to move away for employment. Many of the trades persons that I talked to seemed to be content although, of course, there are exceptions. Recently, I was in a small community in Nunavut where a Qallunaaq journeyman tradesmen told me that he had trained two journeymen and now one was the biggest drug dealer in town and the other was no longer working because of the effect of too many drugs. Still, I accept the conventional view that education and training are good and I think it is too late to take the explorer, Roald Amundsen's position, "My sincerest wish for our friends, the Eskimo, is that civilization may never reach them" (1927).

Limitations

Number of Interviews

The study is limited due to the distance between myself as the researcher and the four research participants. It was difficult to hold more than one interview with participants. I was concerned about holding additional phone interviews because the slightly imperative nature of a long distance phone call leads to a more focused interview. Probing and discussion is difficult when every minute is expensive and conversation is clipped, in the satellite connection, if two people speak simultaneously.

Researcher limited cultural knowledge and bias

A Qallunaaq, I have been a resident of the Northwest Territories for more than twenty years, and have socialized with, worked with, learned from and taught Inuit. I have lived in the Nunavut Settlement Area for four years with the remainder of the time in Yellowknife, the capital of the Northwest Territories. In the course of my work as a consultant, I have interviewed more than one hundred apprentices and am familiar with trade programs. Although I believe that my life experience is an advantage with regard to creating a comfortable dialogue, I occasionally lack understanding and sensitivity to the research participants. For instance, although we talked about stalking, shooting and butchering, I, a bird enthusiast, asked one participant why he, as a child, chased and stoned snow buntings. This remark offended him. My biases

sometimes crept into the conversations.

This study starts with or is "grounded" in the words of the tradesmen and is coloured by my character, cultural biases and point of view. I have started my thesis by affirming my feelings and opinions because I am the medium of the study. Chapter One is my personal perspective, my reasons for pursuing the study, its purpose, and the research questions, definitions, assumptions, and limitations. Chapter Two offers my perspective of education in the NWT based on a review of education and related literature in the NWT. Chapter Three outlines the qualitative methodology I followed to complete the study. The next two chapters are what I decided was the substance of my research participants' comments. These are clustered into 6 themes in Chapter Four and 2 themes in Chapter Five. Chapters Six and Seven are interpretations of what the research participants have said and are intertwined with education and selected learning theory literature. Chapter Eight includes a summary of the research, theoretical propositions that I think emerge from the study, implications for further research and suggestions for education policy development in the NWT.

CHAPTER TWO

EDUCATION AND THE NWT

In the Inuktitut language there is no unique word for teacher. The translation of teacher, ilinniaqtitsiji, is "one whose job it is to make people learn." Over the last thirty years significant Canadian resources have been directed toward teaching Inuit of the Northwest Territories. There are now modern, well equipped schools in every community. NWT teachers are the highest paid in Canada and there is a lower pupil/teacher ratio in northern classrooms than in Alberta classrooms (Statistics Canada, 1991, p. 15). In spite of all the educational resources injected into the North, making people learn cannot be hurried. The Government of the Northwest Territories (GNWT), Standing Committee on the Northern Economy (SCONE) Report: Building Our Economic Future noted that 74% of the aboriginal population is functionally illiterate (1989, p. 36) . Further, of the children attending school in "underdeveloped," predominantly aboriginal communities, only 23% graduate from high school and even fewer graduate with university entrance level requirements. As a northern educator, I am concerned about these statistics.

I would like to see the process of formal learning hastened because the repercussions of lack of educational achievement are significant in terms of unemployment and social and health issues. A report of the House of Commons Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs reported that 40% of Inuit were

employed as compared to 60% of all Canadians (Purich, 1990, p. 50), and the unemployment rate is higher among men than women (NWT Labour Force Survey, 1989, p. 5).

A comprehensive demographic study done by Colin Irwin for the Federal Department of Health led to his frequently quoted prediction that

> if current trends continue, most of the Inuit living in the year 2025 will be second-generation wards of the state, whose society, economy and culture may have more in common with an urban slum than with the life their grandparents knew. (from Lords of the Arctic: Wards of the State, as quoted in "The Unlettered Society" by Jim Bell, Arctic Circle, Fall, 1992)

This information was used in an article in the Globe and Mail that was entitled "Where man belongs to the land: Baffin Island is Canada's Third World with little chance of improvement" (French, 1988).

Not only teachers but many other government staff are tasked with the job of providing learning in the hopes of changing history, and this starts with changing behaviour. One issue is a suicide rate of 35 per 100,000 compared to 10 per 100,000 for the rest of Canada. Of the 51 people who committed suicide in the NWT in 1988 and 1989, 40 or 78% were male (NWT Health, 1990, p. 45). Alcoholism is also a serious problem. Forty to 50% of deaths from injuries, accidents and violence are associated with alcohol consumption (Duffy, 1988, p. 221). Although smoking is now more common among Inuit women than men, the lung cancer rate in NWT men, between 1970 and 1984, was 50% higher than

the rest of Canada. The infant mortality rate ranged from 14.9 to 28.5 per 1000 population between 1983 and 1988 (GNWT Annual Report, 1989, p. 59) compared to eight per 1000 for the rest of Canada (Purich, p. 51). GNWT Territorial Hospital Insurance Services Board and the Department of Health's 1990 report states

> while several government departments must play major roles -- notably Health, Education, Social Services, as well as Municipal and Community Affairs, and the Housing Corporation -- nearly every department must engage in the effort to develop healthy public policy. (p. 53)

and controlling health problems "will require behavioral change" (p. 53) .

Ovide Mercredi and Mary Ellen Turpell, authors of In the Rapids - Navigating the Future of First Nations, present the concept of "self government as a way to heal" (1993, p. 107). They describe self government as a very simple notion and explain,

> Our motivation for self-government is equally simple: self preservation. We believe that Indian self-government is the only way to survive and flourish, given the powerful tide of assimilation that has been our history. (p. 107)

and

> If we can create a new relationship that eliminates the dominance of one society over ours, we will eliminate prejudice, stereotyping and discrimination. We will not only gain in terms of the economic wealth of

Canada...but we will also get rid of the psychology of inferiority that affects the minds and hearts of so many of our own people. You act with the pride of your nation and with the strength to control your own destiny. (p. 111)

In spite of negative statistics, the political accord that has been signed by the Federal Government which establishes a new territory, Nunavut, and gives Inuit their own homeland and self government is cause for optimism in the Eastern Arctic. According to Inuit leader, John Amagoalik, quoted in the Globe & Mail, " We're creating a new public government. But we represent 85 per cent of the territory's population....It is a form of self-government" (Cernetig, October 31, 1992). The land claims settlement also includes 1.14 billion dollars over 14 years for the 17,500 beneficiaries and their descendants and preferential hiring of Inuit by the Nunavut Territorial Government. Even though the economic and social conditions of the Nunavut Settlement Area are abysmal, there is much hope as indicated by the title of another article by Keith Watt in the Globe and Mail (1990), "NWT a Model for the World". Nunavut, a public government, representing a largely aboriginal population, is seen as a precedent setting form of self government.

As Mercredi & Turpell indicate, for First Nations, the solution to social ills is escaping assimilation and returning to traditional ways. And indeed, the first expenditures of Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated (NTI) suggest that tradition is important. In recognition and respect of elders an immediate pension was

provided. In recognition of the importance of hunting, the Hunters' and Trappers' Assistance program has been established to provide funding to hunters to enable them to purchase vehicles and equipment to continue to go out on the land. Both respect for elders and encouragement of hunting emerge from the traditional culture of Inuit.

Education is seen as an integral component of the evolution of Nunavut Territory and because the school system has not been very successful, training is necessary to hasten the process. Tungavik Federation of Nunavut (TFN) negotiated within the claim a training budget in the amount of thirteen million dollars. As well, scholarships and awards have been set up. How these funds are spent, and the effect of the subsequent teaching on actual learning is of paramount importance. Nunavut is harnessing the power of traditional culture and occupational training to lead and pull the qamutiik[1] of Nunavut self government. These two forces seem unlikely team mates. From their past, the Inuit are trying to find self worth and identity in an effort to heal social ills and from the present, to prepare for the future, they are seeking education and training to gain employment and control of their government.

The reason for this thesis is my concern about the poor achievement rates in educational programs in the North. To attempt to find ways to improve the delivery I have decided to look at one training program which I believe, has experienced a modicum of success, at least in relation to other educational

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[1] Sled

programs in the Northwest Territories, if success is measured by graduates. This program is the apprenticeship training program.

In 1992, nineteen Inuit completed apprenticeships[2] and between 15,000 and 20,000 people completed trades programs every year (Statistics Canada, 1991). That same year, forty four Inuit completed secondary school[3] and in Canada there were 273,100 secondary school graduates (Statistics Canada, 1994). While the ratio of trade certification and secondary school graduation in Canada is about 1 to 14, among Inuit in the NWT, it is about 1 to 3. The relative success of trades programs to high school graduation in the NWT is more than three times that of the rest of Canada.

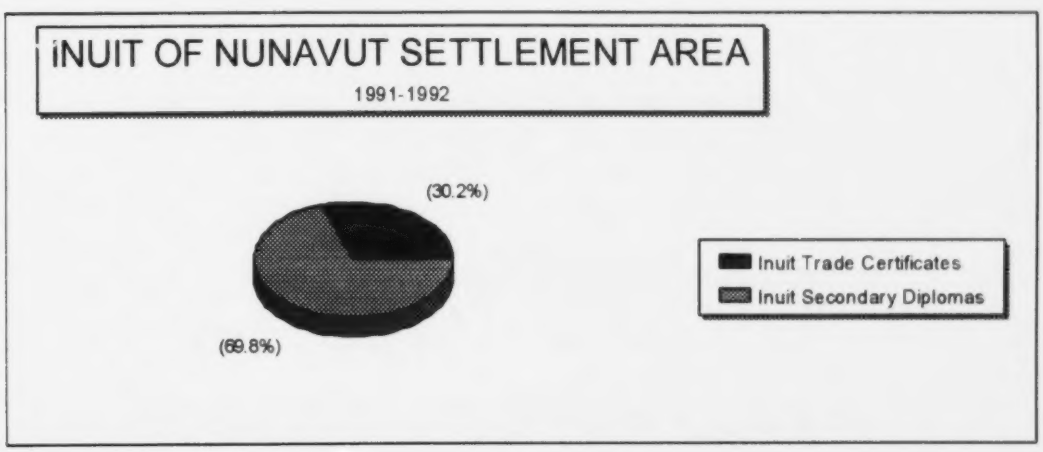

Figure 1

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2 Judith Sharp, Registrar, Apprenticeship Program, Department of Education, Culture and Employment, Government of NWT.

3 Alan Petten, Manager Student Records, Department of EC&E, GNWT.

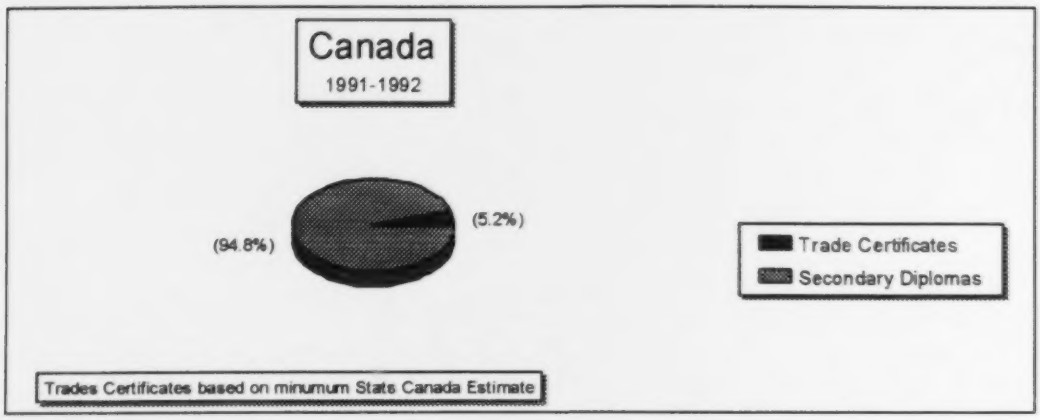

Figure 2

It should be noted that the relative higher yield of graduates from apprenticeship programs in the NWT is not based on disproportionately high funding. Comparatively, in 1991, the proportion of education dollars spent on trades across Canada and in the NWT was the same: Canada, 8.84%, NWT, 8.53%. But by 1993, Canada on the whole was spending 9.59%(Statistics Canada, 1994).

In order to improve service delivery in Nunavut, government policy makers, educators and instructors listen to the ilinniaqitit, the students and potential students. They regularly consult with people throughout the North. In 1982, the GNWT's Special Committee on Education released, Learning: Tradition and Change, and in 1995, the GNWT's Department of Education, Culture and Employment circulated People: Our Focus for the Future. Both of these reports were based on extensive consultation with education stakeholders,

including students. Lutra Associates, Ltd. Lessons For All completed in 1992 was in intense analysis of pre teen and teenage students and early school leavers based on student information. More specific to adult training was Gathering Strength in 1989 in which Frances Abele simultaneously trained a group of native Northerners as researchers and collected information from adult trainees and former trainees. In 1993 I had the opportunity to work on a report called "Entry Level Training Programs in the Oil and Gas Industry in the Mackenzie Valley" with Alconsult International of Calgary. The most interesting part of the research, for me, was interviewing the participants, using open ended questions. From fifteen respondents, we discovered that "on the job" is a preferred training method and that having responsibilities at the workplace is motivating. Respondents, reflecting on experiences about a decade before, value structured curriculum, when attending classes, and regular evaluations at the workplace.

My research, once again, is based on student input. I think there may be ideas for educational improvements inherent in the experiences of trainees that we are missing, and there are two possible reasons for this. First, trainees and former trainees may not know what the significant factors are with regard to their training experience. Second, researchers and evaluators may not be asking all the right questions when they consult with trainees. Dialogue between researchers and trainees and former trainees may reveal significant possible improvements.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

Why were only four tradesmen interviewed out of a potential of 341[1] Inuit trades persons in 1994? Of what value is a 1.4% sampling? These are questions which are important to the quantitative researcher. But this research is not quantitative. The general entry point to qualitative research appears to be in reaction to the limitations of quantitative research (Giorgio, 1989, Guba & Lincoln, 1983, Polkinghorne, 1983, Phillips, 1991). As Giorgio states "during my scientific training I often wondered why of necessity one could only express data in terms of numbers?" (p.72). Guba and Lincoln describe the "*naturalistic paradigm of inquiry*" (p. 311) which endorses a non numeric expression of data. They identify five axioms of the naturalistic paradigm:

1. There are multiple, intangible realities which can be studied only holistically,
2. The inquirer and the object interact to influence one another; this mutual interaction is especially present when the object of inquiry is another human being,
3. The aim of inquiry is to develop an ideographic body of knowledge...a series of working hypotheses,
4. An action *may* be explainable in terms of multiple interacting

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1 Judith Sharp, Registrar, Apprenticeship Program, Department of Education, Culture and Employment, Government of the NWT.

factors, events, and processes that shape it and are part of it, and

5. Inquiry is value-bound.

Giorgio explains it like this: "The task of the researcher is to let the world of the describer, or more concretely, the situation as it exists for the subject, reveal itself through the description in an unbiased way" (p. 74).

Mary Field Belenky, Blythe McVicker Clinchy, Nancy Rule Goldberger and Jill Mattuck Tarule's Women's Ways of Knowing: the Development of Self, Voice and Mind (1989) is an example of research based on the naturalistic paradigm. "We adopted an intensive interview/ case study approach because we wanted to hear what the women had to say in their own terms rather than test our own preconceived hypotheses" (p.11). The study spanned sixteen years and included multiple interviews with 180 women. Each interview which took from two to five hours began with the specific and simultaneously holistic question, "Looking back, what stands out for you over the past few years" (p.11)? Rather than significance from numbers, the research significance will come from what is termed, "thick description." The researcher is constantly required to be invisible and not influence or distort the participants' thoughts but at the same time work on the development and continual revision of working hypotheses. This is the "mutual interaction". The Belenky, *et al.* study included excerpts from interviews which illuminated the thoughts of the research participants. These excerpts were the data and underpinning of the new theory. The working hypotheses evolved into a theoretical set of positions on

five ways of knowing. It is a holistic theory that includes not only intellectual development but personal character development. At the same time, it is rooted firmly in academic, previously developed and documented intellectual theory, particularly, the work of William Perry (1970) on intellectual development and Carol Gilligan (1982) on women's intellectual development.

In this study I try to take a holistic approach and explain apprenticeship completion by organizing and presenting into a profile the multiple realities I received in the interviews. This chapter is organized into sections: Recruitment & Selection of Research Participants, Description of Participants, Data Collection Procedures, Data Analysis & Findings, and Ethical Considerations.

Recruitment & Selection of Research Participants

Criteria for Selection

The selection of research participants was an emerging process. When I initially became interested in the research topic, I held a pilot interview with a tradesman with whom I was slightly acquainted. The purpose of the pilot was to test interview questions and to ascertain if the topic seemed to have merit with at least one tradesman. For additional potential candidates I consulted with Regional Government of the NWT Career Development Officers, Bryan Johnson in Keewatin and Paul Taylor in Baffin. GNWT regional superintendents of respective departments agreed to allow staff to participate. Living, at the time, in Yellowknife, and self funded, my travel was limited to two

locations, Rankin Inlet and Iqaluit.

Every effort was made to interview tradesmen who knew me or a member of my nuclear family by name or face. This was the case for two participants. This method of selection is recommended by ethnographers, (Berg, 1992) to collect more informative data. It helped to engender confidence among participants because of their family values. It was a way of saying that I, the researcher, belonged to the North. In addition, I tried to acquaint myself with the family and history of all participants by speaking with friends who had known these men. I read published journals about the ancestor of one of the participants[2]. Learning about the participants, their families, ancestors and community fosters trust and understanding between researcher and participant which assists in the collection of meaningful data.

Description of Participants

The four participants are Inuit living in the Nunavut Settlement Area. The participants did not have any preference for the term Inuit over Eskimo. Throughout this paper I use the word "Inuit", unless in a direct quote or if "Eskimo" adds to the understanding. Inuktitut is the first language of all participants. One participant lost his ability to speak Inuktitut and is in the process of relearning it. All of the participants speak English and completed the course work for their apprenticeship in the English language. All speak both

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[2] This journal has been excluded from the bibliography in order to protect his identity.

languages at the work place. Two participants live in Iqaluit and two in Rankin Inlet. Each man was interviewed in his own home community.

The participants' present home and birth communities are not distinguished for reasons of confidentiality. Pseudo names, selected by the participants, are used to protect each man's identity. Anonymity was assured all participants as much as possible.

What name a person selects can be revealing. Three of the participants initially, in jest, selected names from movies. One selected Peter Pan. One selected Norton, a tradesman in the movie or television show, "The Honeymooners". One selected Rock.

> I was watching this movie the other day. He drives up to the pump station and this long haired Indian guy - the white guy is half punch drunk. "Hey Indian, what's [Rock] mean?"
>
> And the Indian says nothing... it doesn't mean anything.

Watching movies is a very popular activity in Nunavut. In 1991, of 12,090 Inuit surveyed, 5185 had bought or rented VCR movies (Bureau of Statistics, 1991, p. 9). In addition cable TV is available in the majority of communities. When provided with these "video" names, I asked for other recommendations and the pseudo names selected were second choices for these three participants.

Kootoo, whose first choice for pseudo name was used, had selected the name of his uncle who had recently passed away. One participant chose the

name of a cousin and another chose his "Inuktitut name". Kit Minor, in her book Issumatuq, (1992) describes how traditional Inuit think that an individual possesses two souls or turnqaniq -- a human soul and a name soul. The human soul is unique to each person and accounts for the individuality of the Inuk. "The name soul floats freely about the cosmos and possesses strengths of mind and character....Following death, the name soul of an individual will float about until it is called up in a naming ritual" (p. 37). Kootoo, and possibly Ematalook and Eepa selected names following this custom. "White" selected his name, he said, "to accept the fact that I'm half white and half Inuk." Each participant seemed pleased finally with his selected name.

Eepa is twenty eight years old. He spent his youth in a small settlement and then attended residential public high school in Yellowknife, which he did not complete. Eepa took the first two years of his trades studies at Arctic College in Fort Smith, NWT and the final two years at Northern Alberta Institute of Technology (NAIT) in Edmonton. He completed the "training on the job" portion of his apprenticeship in the regional centre and still works in that community. He was certified as an electrician in 1992. He is married and has a young son.

Kootoo is forty five years old. He was born in a camp, on the land and moved to the regional centre at the age of nine, where he continues to reside. He did not complete high school but took upgrading in Ottawa and his trades training in Winnipeg at Red River College. He graduated as an electrician in

1975. He has two teenage children.

Ematalook is a plumber gasfitter. He is thirty four years old. He was born in a settlement and as a child moved to another settlement in another region of the Northwest Territories and later to Churchill, Manitoba and Ottawa before returning to a regional centre (near his place of birth) where he still lives. He is married and has children. He attended NAIT, Lakeland College in Fort Vermillion and Keyano College in Fort McMurray and graduated in 1990.

White was born in Northern Manitoba. His family had left the NWT, with other Inuit families, and the men were employed at a mine. Since the age of five he has lived in a regional centre in the NWT with the exception of a short stint in Ottawa as a teenager. He attended upgrading in Fort Smith and received his trades training both at Southern Alberta Institute of Technology [SAIT] in Calgary and NAIT. He is thirty years old and was certified as an automotive mechanic in 1992. He is married and has three children.

Data Collection Procedures

Participants were interviewed in English in their present home community. One major interview was held with each of three participants. Two major interviews were held with the fourth participant, one being the pilot interview. Major interviews were between one and two and a half hours in duration. Some correspondence, meetings, facsimile and phone calls followed.

The interviews were designed in a semi-structured format. The interview

guide included the following questions:

1. What kinds of skills have you learned as an apprentice and journeyman automotive mechanic [plumber- gasfitter, electrician]?
2 How did you learn these skills?
3. Why did you want to learn [identified skill(s)]?
4. Did your father [or other significant mentor] know how to [trade skill]? If so, how did he learn to [trade skill]?
5. What skills do you have that you are most proud of?
6. Was the way you learned to [trade skill] similar to the way you learned to [other identified non occupational skill]?

While the above questions served to guide the interview, my experience is that the interviews seemed to have a life of their own, and I did not always have to ask all questions. I remained open to stories and tangential information and probed for further understanding.

The location of the interviews was mutually decided. Ematalook was interviewed at his own office, Eepa in an office at his work place and Kootoo at an Arctic College office. In these three situations, the participant was seated behind the desk and I was in an auxiliary chair. The first interview held with White was held in an empty classroom at a local school. The second interview, a year and a half later, was held in a student lounge at Arctic College. All locations were quiet and private, except the interview with Eepa which was punctuated with intercom messages and some distraction from co-workers.

When I completed the four final interviews, I had little or no preconceived notion of what I wanted to hear. Even though I am from the North, the almost constant sunlight of late June, coupled with travelling across time zones, left me exhausted and I focused on creating an environment that was comfortable for the participants. As they were speaking, I was attentive to everything said.

White was the participant in my pilot interview. He was willing to be interviewed, had many insights and was articulate; thus I determined he could be used as one of the participants in the study itself. He agreed to a second interview during data gathering for the study and both interviews were used in this thesis. Eepa, Ematalook and Kootoo were no less articulate, but they were less loquacious and so I used a repertory grid to elicit comment and discussion. Mezirow (1990) states that the purpose of a repertory grid is to have the participant create his own construct system. He states:

> According to Kelly, no two people have exactly the same construct system, since they cannot have had identical bases of experience; and, accordingly, no two people construe (or make sense of) reality in precisely the same way. (p. 281)

The constructs are created by comparing how certain things are alike and also how they are different from each other.

The Kelly Card Sort

I used this technique because of my personal research and professional

experience with it in the past. It was helpful when I completed research on personal learning experiences of Northerners and also as a tool in career counselling. In the latter case, I asked the person who I was counselling to put descriptors on what careers she was considering. Although not discomforting, it puts the participant into a position where he or she is scratching her head and thinking, "What do I really mean?" The card sort and subsequent rating help the person understand their own position and in the case of research, the researcher captures the participant's personal insight or revelation. This method provided depth and insight in Calvin Harvey's University of Alberta thesis, The Native Canadian Perceptions of Success: An Application of Kelly's Personal Constructs Theory(1988).

Kelly's card sort is an activity. Using a repertory grid is very simple. In this study, I asked the individual participant to name five of his interests and activities. Eepa selected: 1) Qamutiik making, 2) Electrician, Construction, 3) Electrician, Maintenance, 4) Father and 5) Businessman. He had mentioned most of these activities earlier in the interview. Each activity was written down on a 3" by 5" file card. The cards were shuffled and three selected at random. I asked Eepa to choose two of the three activities on the cards that were similar and subsequently asked him what was different about these two activities from the third. This is the "triadic elicitation procedure". When faced with three cards, Father (4), Businessman (5) and Electrician, Maintenance(3), Eepa selected Father(4) and Businessman(5) as being similar "because a business

man tries to run his business fairly and make it grow and a father tries to raise his son as a good boy or whatever until he grows up." With the change of eye contact between researcher and participant the locus of thought is externalized --to a tool. Questions are determined by chance and I think the participant speaks with more autonomy of thought because there is no longer an intellectual dialogue between researcher and participant. The final step in the process is usually to rank all the roles in relation to the descriptors used but I did not consistently follow through with this step because I wanted to keep the conversation going. Not only was the repertory grid useful to elicit thought among participants but also the fact that it was an activity that included tactile file cards, like a game, helped to make two of the participants more relaxed and this, itself, led to them being more responsive.

Data Analysis & Findings

I kept notes about queries, ideas and possible working hypotheses but the data for this research are all from interviews. I audio taped the five major interviews, White having been interviewed twice, and transcribed the interviews verbatim, myself, into a word processing format on my computer. Not a professional transcriber, I played and replayed the tapes and was very familiar with what was becoming the text. In my mind, however, it is always conversation and I hear the voice inflections which, after repetitive listening, became more and more intriguing making the text, to me, increasingly,

profound. Belenky, *et al.* explains that

> the very process of recopying the women's words, reading them with our eyes, typing them with our fingers, remembering the sounds of the voices when the words were first spoken helped us hear meanings in the words that had previously gone unattended. (p. 17)

At this point, the hundreds of pages of data I had seemed more than adequate to complete my study. The subsequent work was interpretive and became a process akin to carving a stone sculpture, i.e., finding an intrinsic form within the bulk of the material.

Upon completing the transcript of initial interviews, copies of the text were sent to the participants for their review. None of the participants responded with comments even though I did see two of them, and they were very willing to answer more questions and talk further. I made a few short follow up phone calls for factual details.

Once all of the initial interviews were transcribed the process of identification of emergent themes began. I used the methods of grounded theory as outlined by Glaser and Strauss (1967) and more recently, Corbin & Strauss (1990). Similar, parallel and/or divergent units of analysis called "incidents" in an interview transcript are grouped together thematically. My method is patterned after a technique of analysis called the "constant comparative method" (Glaser and Strauss, 1967) which involves comparing incidents in the data to each other and, after continuous comparisons,

eventually deriving a category classification. The process follows the format:

Stage one: comparing incidents applicable to each emerging category

Stage two: integrating categories and their properties

Stage three: delimiting theory. (Grove, 1987, p. 274)

When I completed this process the stages were not always entirely separate from each other. Stage one started with the transcribing of the interviews, but it is hard to explain how it is completed. I consciously started Stage one by taking the printed copy and identifying tentative categories with coloured highlighting pens but almost immediately returned to my computer. As I stated, I was very familiar with the text, and I could remember words and phrases that were contained in incidents. I found it convenient to use the "Search" function in the word processing software to find incidents which were spread through the text. I knew what I was looking for, but by searching for a word, sometimes a key word, and sometimes an uncommon word that I remembered in reference to the particular incident, the function made it much quicker to find. I then decided to create separate word processing files on each category. I copied rough chunks of the transcripts, which I thought contained incidents and pasted them into files which I had named with tentative category names. Then I took each file document and worked with it, cutting out the unnecessary and trying to reveal the significant.

Grove describes Stage two as the stage where "incidents are now placed in categories according to provisional rules rather than by intuition" (p. 274). As

I worked, the titles of the documents changed, some merged and some were eliminated. In Stage one the work is intuitive and in Stage two it is analysis. In my study some categories and some combinations of categories, at this point, became the themes presented in Chapters Four and Five. I had some strong feelings about other categories, in particular, what I call "active seeing" and also the importance of motion that I could not initially explain analytically and thus were almost eliminated. The three stages of the process did not always follow precisely in sequence because upon analysis (Step two) adjustments had to be made to the categories and these adjustments required intuiting skills (Step one).

Each theme contributes to a working hypothesis. Among Inuit men, my conclusion is that the themes described in Chapter Four contribute to apprenticeship completion. Chapter Five comprises the importance of maintaining Inuit identity.

Validation occurs throughout the research. Every theme evolved from the congruence of data from at least three and usually four research participants. These categorizations and ensuing themes were reviewed by project advisor Gail English, who has been an instructor at Nunatta Campus, Arctic College in Iqaluit and who has an M. Ed. in Adult Education from the University of New Brunswick. She reviewed the transcripts and Chapters Four and Five and found the data fairly presented. In addition, David Kravitz and Noel McDermott, both long term Northerners with post graduate level education,

read intermediary drafts of my thesis. I considered their critical thoughts carefully and their input modified my final thesis.

Ethical Considerations

In accordance with the University of Alberta requirements, my research proposal was approved by the Ethics Review Committee of the Department of Adult, Career & Technology Education.

In order to comply with the Science Institute of the Northwest Territories, it was necessary to make detailed application for a Scientific Research Licence. The licence was granted in Yellowknife, NWT, just before division of the Science Institute into a Western NWT and Nunavut office.

Compliance required following the Ethical Principles for the Conduct of Research in the North, a publication of the Association of Canadian Universities for Northern Study (1982). The ACUNS publication identified eighteen principles including : 16. All research reports should be sent to the communities involved, and; 17. All research publications should refer to informed consent and community participation. (p. 5) In order to fulfil these principles, copies of my thesis will be sent to the Department of Education, Culture & Employment, GNWT and Human Resources, Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated (NTI), as well as to the research participants (or to the library in their community, as they choose).

Safeguarding confidentiality in the Northwest Territories is problematic.

Even with the use of pseudo names, because the communities in the Nunavut Settlement Area are so small, and because the total population is less than 20,000, the identity of the participant may be readily apparent to many residents.

In interviews, I clearly stated that although I would make every effort to keep the research participants' names confidential, I could not guarantee confidentiality. In addition, the following factors were mentioned in the consent form and at the beginning of interviews. The form is attached as Appendix 1.

- The purpose of the research. At that time the participants were advised that the purpose was to find out what motivates Inuit to finish apprenticeships.
- The reason for my research which is to provide information which may contribute to the improvement of employment training in Nunavut.
- Participants will be provided with a transcript of their initial interview.
- Each potential participant was advised that they could choose to opt out of the study at any time.
- Participants would be given credit for their contribution to the research in the final document (unless they prefer anonymity).
- Participants would be provided with a copy of the final thesis, or they may choose that it be provided to their community library.
- A copy of the final thesis would be provided to both the Department of Education, Culture and Employment and Human Resources, NTI.

CHAPTER FOUR

ELEMENTS THAT CONTRIBUTE TO APPRENTICESHIP COMPLETION

Introduction

The interviews reflect the thoughts and learning experiences of Eepa, White, Ematalook and Kootoo which comprise the data of my study. The findings of this study are divided into the following two chapters. This chapter focuses on factors that contribute to apprenticeship completion, and Chapter Five considers what kind of personal learning occurs while becoming a tradesman. These chapters are followed by Chapters Six and Seven which contain reflections on these findings.

The findings in this chapter are arranged within themes as a way of presentation. The following theme titles are the words of research participants and represent what I see to be the reasons for the research participants' success in the trades program;

If it wasn't for my father...

We all had something in common

Second Nature

Seeing things happen right now

Getting paid well while I was learning something

A different area code - looking from the outside in

One thread that runs through the first four themes is hunting and various

hunting skills. The term hunting skills is defined broadly and skills mentioned include repairing motors and equipment, navigating, camping, building qamutiik and boats, butchering, fishing, using harpoons, trapping, resource management and shooting.

If it wasn't for my father..

Fathers and uncles were important instructors to all research participants. For three of the men, hunting skills were passed down from father and other older male relatives. The fathers of two of these men had worked in a trade and the third had an older brother who was a carpenter. The fourth man, Ematalook had a brother who had also apprenticed for a trade but injuries sustained in an automobile accident prevented him from continuing. Ematalook is the exception that probes the rule. Ematalook did not learn to hunt until he was about eighteen and he learned from his wife's uncles.

> I was kind of old, in hunting terms. A lot of people take their kids out when they are just young. Like T.R., he takes his son out, he's about nine or ten....
>
> We used to go out hunting quite a bit. [My wife] has three uncles [who were also painters] that used to go out hunting a lot and I'd always tag along, go to different areas and they'd teach me the names of these different places. And what to look for, the tracks, following tracks of the

animals, shoot them and butcher them....Yes. I watched them first and I'd give it a try. They'd be watching and tell me which way to cut and what to do....It was fun but embarrassing too. Our culture, by that age, you should know this stuff. I'd never been taught a thing. It was like being a little kid again. [Laughed] It was embarrassing....

When asked if anybody else in his family was a tradesman, Eepa replied that an older brother was a heavy duty mechanic, and his Dad, before he retired, was a carpenter who built houses. However, when asked what skills his father had taught him, his reply focused on traditional Inuit skills, "Oh, yes, he taught me a lot . He taught me how to build qamutiik, build igloo, making rope out of sealskin." We continued:

In terms of how to make rope and how to be an electrician, were they the same? Did your father teach the same way that the tradesman and the teachers taught you?

I think so, yes. My dad's pretty, I don't know, stricter, I guess....He makes sure I pound it into my head, like if he's trying to teach me....If it wasn't for him, like my dad, even though I wasn't working, he'd make me wake up in the morning, early in the morning, and do a little bit of work around the house or something, do some chores, he'd make me go look for work when there wasn't work and all that. I'm glad I had my dad because otherwise [with feeling] [silence]...I wouldn't been something, I guess. If he hadn't pushed me around.

[Laughter]

He believes that his father's influence and his father's instruction were critical to his career.

In addition to encouragement from his father, Kootoo credited the journeymen he apprenticed under and "elder people" who said to him things like "It hurts me a lot, we need a native person to get involved in this area".

We all had something in common

Kootoo talked about other people who influenced his decision to complete his electrical apprenticeship.

> I talked to some of the friends, they were older than me... They told me, well, I'm getting good pay. They had motorbikes, skidoo, so I started watching these electricians, carrying the wire, carrying tools, that got me interested in it.
>
> *And then you finished it [the apprenticeship] and they didn't?*
>
> No. One time there was at least about maybe 10 apprentices. It's only three completed. Seven dropped out; one person died; most of them dropped out. I guess the problem was that they didn't have enough education. They found it so hard. Instead of going back to upgrading; they'd say well, "I've had it" or "It's too hard" ...either that or they were homesick or they'd rather be free.

Kootoo and two other research participants did not finish high school. Eepa and White both recounted the negative effects of peer pressure. When I asked Eepa if he had anything in common with his peers in high school, he said, "Yes. We were all troublemakers". He explained, "getting into fights with other students -- there's Indians, Inuit and white people, anybody." White noted that "brought up in this closed environment here [in his home community] you drank to get drunk-- there was no social drinking. [It was] not have a few beer and that was it. Our social circle was drink to get drunk."

At technical school, the influence of peers became positive. Eepa stated, "I was the only Inuk in my class. But we all had something in common. We were electricians, we were more mature, I guess." Kootoo and Eepa talked about helping and getting help with homework from ôther students. White talked about being very lonely without anyone to speak Inuktitut with, until his wife joined him in Calgary. Then,

> it was very easy to assimilate into SAIT. Farmers made it very easy, same mentality, soon as they were out of school, they were on the combine, milking the cows and doing other stuff. I could relate to that, not the cows and the combine, but jumping into an activity and the guys come in; he is a little bit dirty. It was all great. In NAIT, they were all deer hunters, so we had that connection and it was kind of nice to find.... But a funny thing happened in SAIT - I think it was my first year or my second year when I went down there I didn't let on to anyone who I was, it was sort of a game.

[In the first] week nobody knows each other yet. After a couple of weeks everybody starts to know each other's names, after three weeks everybody knows each other [and] after four it's all [one] big happy [family]. A week into the program, this [Vietnamese] guy comes up to me and asks me my name, introduces himself and he says,

"You're different. Well, you are not like the others."

I kinda smiled a little bit at him and said "What do you mean?".

"I've been watching you. You're different somehow. You are not white."

"Why do you think I'm not white?"

"Some of the stuff you do and what they do, how you react. You are different. " I said, "Yes, I am."

" What are you?"

"I'm Inuk. Eskimo." Of course, that just blew him away.... He asked me to tutor him because he was having a hard time at English....Quan made it easy for me. I made it easy for him. Just to have somebody down there - that we could relate to...

White continued tangentially,

...maybe what would be really neat is to set up one class or two classes per year, special classes that were multicultural, where you didn't have a dominant culture. I think that would be pretty neat and I'm very, very sure it would make it a lot easier for any distinct culture, going into that - whether it was white, Indian, Inuit, Mexican, what have you.

I told White that when I had suggested that there should be more emphasis on trades in the communities, a government superintendent [whom we both knew] had suggested to me that it was not right to push Inuit into trades. White said,

> ...if I was there and he told me you can't force people to choose their careers, I'd say, hey buddy, too late, you're up here, you forced people to choose their career. Career is a European culture. You forced change. [It's] too late. They can do with it what they can. And I think you are absolutely correct that trades is probably more, has a better chance of having a higher success rate....You can't take somebody: right now, I talk about having had a hard time sitting behind a desk as a program manager, etc. Christ, I grew up in a house with a TV but I was exposed to the mentality of what these people remember some forty years ago and even now, take these people off the land... put them in an environment where you sit down behind a desk. It's not going to work. But you give them a bunch of tools, stuff that maybe he's akin to using when he was out there, or building a house, or fixing a ... whatever, a physical trade, and try to equip him, being a mechanic- - you take him out of that environment, I think it's a nice transition.

White, who immediately moved into an office job upon completion of his trade certification, supported trades training for Inuit and saw it as a stepping stone.

All four tradesmen interviewed, two electricians, one plumber and one mechanic, appeared to be well suited to their jobs because they were interested in equipment, in making things and fixing things, not only at work but in their leisure time. The proclivity had developed from hunting which the men perceived as more difficult work than their trade. While Eepa considered his father, as a teacher, to be stricter than teachers and journeymen he encountered later, Kootoo tended to think that learning hunting skills was at least as difficult as trade skills. He belittled his hunting skills,

> There is a lot of things that I should know that I don't know. That's maybe because I spent a lot of time at work.
>
> *So you know some things about the land?*
>
> Yes, a little bit. I spent my time, my holidays, try to, on the weekends, I like to get out on the land..get away from electricity [laughter].

He stated that

> Well, learning to be a tradesman, seems like a lot easier. Yes.
>
> *Easier than being a hunter?*
>
> Yes. You got to spend a lot [of time] outdoors to be a hunter, a real hunter, you've got to be out there 12 months a year, different

temperatures, there's ice conditions you're getting involved... but still it's hard on the brain being a tradesmen.

Kootoo spent his first nine years living on the land at a time when traditional skills would have been necessary for survival, but when I asked Kootoo what skills he had outside of being an electrician, he could not think of any. Then he said,

> Mostly maintaining my own house. That's one thing I like about having my own house. I look after it; it looks after me. Well, whatever breaks down, like, a pump, well I repair that. And if I happen to be out hunting, and my motor breaks down, well I have to repair it and it gets me back to my place. My trade helps me out a lot, a lot of ways....Being an electrician, you learn pretty well everything. Like mechanical, I did my plumbing at home which I learned in my trade. Carpentry, a measuring tape....I learned that a bit, too, in my trade. You learn a lot, if you hang in there. You learn more than one subject, you learn electrical, plumbing.
>
> *OK. You're an electrician? Is there any other names for you? Like, are you a hunter?*
>
> Well, if I have to hunt, yes. If I have to survive out there, if I have the tools to survive, the harpoon and the gun, I think that I'd survive.

Though Kootoo was modest about his hunting skills, other conversation

indicated he was an active hunter. For example, when I tried to arrange a time to talk to Kootoo, he said, "After [six] I'll be out working on my boat or my skidoo or something." In a subsequent conversation by telephone, when we were discussing his holiday, he reported that he had been out with his fourteen year old son (who lives in Ottawa) who had shot his first caribou and first seal.

I asked Ematalook why he thought Inuit were more likely to succeed in apprenticeships in trades rather than in high school academics.

> A lot of Inuit people are, as I was saying before, mechanically inclined. Maybe it's from having to use their brain when they first go out hunting and then it becomes a second nature. I don't know; it becomes habit forming, like breathing, walking. It just comes to them.

Although Ematalook is presently working in management, he very much enjoys being a plumber. Part of the reason he enjoys his trade is because it seems to come naturally to him. In fact, he can't understand how other people can't "see" solution to problems:

> It's really interesting, rewarding, I guess, but I still have that problem, I wonder, how can somebody not know, how can they be so, I don't know, stupid? Maybe that wouldn't be the right word. Seeing a small thing. Especially when it comes to service work. If a friend calls up and says--like H. there, he is saying his electrical bills are so high.
>
> E "Is your boiler running all the time?"

H "Yes, it seems to be running all the time."

E "Well, is your thermostat turned up?"

H "No my thermostats are turned down,"

E "Well, your hot water, do you have a lot of hot water?"

H "Oh yes, it's very hot."

E "Does it run through your boiler?"

H "Yes."

E "Why don't you try turning down your thermostats on your hot water tank?"

H "Oh, what will that do?"

E "Well, your thermostat is controlling your circular pump which controls the amount of water going through your heat exchanger to the boiler and then back into the storage tank. The higher you have it the more it will circulate."

"Oh, can you come over and take a look at it?"

By going through a step by step trouble shooting process, Ematalook thought he had fully explained to H. how to solve the problem and, yet, H. couldn't understand and wanted Ematalook to adjust the thermostat.

I asked Ematalook how a person becomes what Ematalook calls a "troubleshooter". He said,

> Probably a lot of it, just through experience. Check to see if this is working, go to the next.

Do you have a set procedure?

Mentally? No. I don't. I don't know how to express it. Something I just do subconsciously, it's not - I don't make a conscious effort- to "oh, I got to go do this." It doesn't work like that. To me it's just something that just happens....I don't know if I should say--It's a natural ability.

Seeing things happen right now

All four of the tradesmen professed to prefer active tasks rather than office work. Activity, both on the land and at work includes working with tools, driving and "active" seeing, but it does not include reading or sitting at a desk. As described previously, I used a technique developed by Kelly in his Personal Constructs Theory to initiate dialogue with three of the participants. The technique uses file cards with words on them which are shuffled and selected at random. I observed an increased comfort level among two of the more reticent participants simply with the introduction of the tactile task.

In comparing butchering, inspection and paperwork, three personal skills he had identified, Kootoo stated:

This part, the butcher, or the hunter is one part I enjoy....[and regarding inspection & paperwork he said] I am native person. I got to get to the white man's world, especially, I got to visualize it, operate it, put it to

and my boss will read it and then hopefully he will understand my writing and how I write it, you know what I mean. You know what I mean?

Note that when Kootoo identifies similarities between inspection and paperwork, he identifies separate steps of the process which he finds tedious. Butchering also has many steps, but they are concurrent, and he immediately sees the results. In response to another card sort, he compares the skills of butchering, driving and paperwork. Note the meaning construct he is creating here which I will call "active seeing" versus "inactive seeing".

> Paperwork is opposite. Well you are sitting down, your eyes down, just concentrating on one thing. You're not looking back, you're not looking forward, Driving or heating systems, you're looking at it..you gotta look at it.

Again, demonstrating the importance he places in motion, which is also active seeing, while rating his other constructs, Kootoo described driving as follows.

> Driving fits everywhere. When you are out hunting you are driving, even though it's a hundred years back you are driving your dog team. For [electrical] inspection[s] you've got to drive to such areas to do your inspection.

Active seeing and motion are important constructs for Kootoo.

Ematalook is a foreman in an area public works and services office but when interviewed he was temporarily acting in a management position. He

receives personal satisfaction from many of his achievements as a manager, including developing an accurate budget, but he is ambivalent about the position.

> Like I'm in here, I'm hesitant to come to work up in this office, [management] because I love working with tools so much and that foreman's job, it's not only a paperwork job. I have to do practical work when we are short handed and if the guys have a problem then we go to work on it together. I find it's hard for me to move from that transition of totally being away from the tools, just going to doing all this stuff, paper work. It's something that I have to work with my hands all the time. I have to. I find it more, would it be rewarding, maybe? Where I can see something happening right now, whereas with this job, something happens but it happens within the fiscal year. It's a very slow process, getting projects started and going through the full stages of the process and the final inspection and final payments. I like seeing things happen right now [He chuckles]...

When I asked Ematalook what motivated him to complete his trades training, he replied:

> The mechanical part of it, finishing the job, plumbing in a new system, learning the system. Also my fourth year, I had done some work in town here, new construction, houses, on the side. I can walk by a few houses here and look at it and say, "I did the plumbing" here. It's really

interesting, rewarding, I guess.

This desire to "see things happen right now" may be the factor that motivates Ematalook in troubleshooting. He likes to resolve mechanical problems. Though he does not give himself credit for it, he demonstrates the patience necessary for diagnosis and analysis.

As previously noted, White elected to enter an apprenticeship rather than study to be a renewable resource officer, a decision he occasionally regrets.

> When the apprenticeship came up, while I was here, for mechanic, I applied on it.... It was a toss up but Renewable Resources was to sit behind a desk for the next two years trying to learn, really, really learn. Mechanics, pretty well the same thing, but ten months, hands on training, was a hell of a lot easier than to sit behind a desk and listen to somebody lecture and try and write down notes because I didn't have that aptitude. It was work. So when I got into the apprenticeship, with two months out, I figured, well I got 10 months to prepare for it.

Like Ematalook who said that he likes immediate results, White selected what was most comfortable in the short term. In the end, White never worked as a journeyman mechanic but moved directly to an office job. He expressed his concern for moving from school to an office job. "I knew it was going to be a hard transition ....sitting behind a desk for eight hours, and I'd worked in the shop for a long time before that. I was like a caged animal for six months."

Action and motion are important. When I asked White what he was most

proud of, he replied.

> There's something. ..[silence] For me, it's always the latest one that I've completed. When I went to upgrade, I enjoyed math because I was half decent at it and so I was probably especially proud of that and then after when I was in [Fort] Smith I found that English was something I was becoming [proud of] because I had a terrible time with English up until that day. Then, of course, going into mechanics, I was working with the trucks. There's the different components. Every apprenticeship year is set up for different components. So the first year you are all happy with brakes, the second year you are all happy with differentials, gears, and then the engine, of course, and the third year you are all happy with electrical because that's what you're concentrating on and the fourth year it's transmissions. Then, during that apprenticeship, when I was building a house I was especially proud that I could cut straight and measure pretty accurately and build a fairly decent house and now this year I am especially proud of the fact that I can build a boat.
>
> *Right. What's it going to be next year?*
>
> Geez, I don't know maybe retrieve my boat. [Laughter]

White puts ceaseless effort into pursuing learning experience after learning experience. He is confident of his abilities but also willing to take risks. Next year he also plans to start a business.

> I'm not stuck in one subject group. I refuse to be. The Inuit lifestyle is a

fairly, it's one where you are varied in different activities all the time. To be able to say, successfully go, from point A to point B you have to ride a snowmobile exceptionally well, sometimes and sometimes you are travelling forty, fifty miles an hour, and sometimes you've got fifteen hundred pounds on the sled behind you and if you fall off it's going to kill you. ...Yes. You have to be an extremely proficient rider, active, physical rider. Mentally you have to be trained for the environment - if you take somebody who's worked in an office all their life and put them out in the middle of nowhere, and it's forty below, they might be dressed for it, possibly flip right out. He'd kill himself. Then you have to be aware of your surroundings. Concentrate. There's so many things to get your Coleman stove going in the middle of winter, you've got to be good with rope, you've got to be good with wood. It's really varied. Everything you do out there is different. Compared to a southern environment and career [which is] a very narrow path, it's very condensed, concentrated, you get really good at one thing-- there's a real tendency that that's all you are going to do. For me...I don't ever want to get away from, having the variety, just being exposed to many, many different things and how it all fits together.

An important element of this theme is "seeing things happen". When research participants talked about learning experiences both at the work place and while hunting with family and friends they consistently used a visual context.

At the workplace Eepa learned from "just watching him work" and Kootoo talked about "visualizing [the task] first". Eepa said that in Inuit culture "most of the skills are passed down by watching and learning but in the other Qallunaaq way, it 's by books and experiments". Eepa talked about how his uncles taught him to butcher animals. "Yes. I watched them first and I'd give it a try. They'd be watching and tell me which way to cut and what to do."

Getting paid well while I was learning something

Each research participant mentioned numerous reasons for completing their apprenticeship programs. All were attracted by the likelihood of gainful employment on completion and by the fact they were paid while they completed their apprenticeship. Eepa said, " I was getting paid well while I was learning something. I enjoyed it. I wanted to be a certified electrician." Ematalook had considered becoming a helicopter pilot:

> Just before that I was working for DPW as a casual labourer. I had the ideal opportunity to get my licence but when I finished my commercial helicopter licence about the time there were no jobs and they were laying off everybody and I was talking to my instructor and he was saying they were laying off a lot of long term pilots and it would be really hard. I couldn't find anything and I had just really used up all my UI when this apprenticeship came up and

I took that....

You had a family?

Yes. I felt an obligation to the government for getting me a chance to do the apprenticeship so I stayed on. I enjoy it.

Although he also mentions a feeling of obligation, getting paid a good salary was one reason that Ematalook decided to become a plumber gasfitter. The same was the case for Kootoo's decision to become an electrician although Kootoo no longer thinks that he is paid fairly.

Like I said, if I weren't too stupid I'd be a politician. It's a $100,000 a year. The people I know who are involved in politics, they didn't have to go to grade ten and they didn't have to suffer, studying. That's what I see but being a tradesmen today, it's hard to say. It could be a hell of a lot better than what it is today.

Kootoo's preoccupation with salaries of politician's indicates money is a significant factor to him and would effect his selection of training or career. When asked what is good about apprenticeship programs Kootoo replied, "Myself, it helped me a lot to stay out of trouble, getting me up in the morning, at five o'clock. And it helped me to get my own house, and my skidoo, and my boat and so on."

All of the tradesmen owned their own home. Money, after acquiring a house, is used to purchase various things. Consistently, boats, motors, snowmobiles and hunting equipment were mentioned. White had considered a

career as a Renewable Resource officer because of the "lifestyle."

> What more can you ask for? The guys here are constantly on the land when they want to be. You don't need to buy any equipment of your own, you don't need your own snowmobile. You also have access to thousands of dollars worth of equipment.
>
> *And you knew that then?*
>
> Very much then. That's exactly why I wanted to do it. Sometimes I still do. Sometimes I still do....For an Inuk, for somebody who wants to practice that lifestyle, it kills two birds with one stone. You've got a career, a job, a house, an income plus you are out there and when you are out there it's not costing you. If I had that job [I could put] my pay check in the bank. Right now my pay check is to pay for equipment to go out on the land.

Being able to purchase [or access] equipment used for living on the land was mentioned frequently. White summarized his motivation;

> The sole purpose- the prime motivation even for myself as cultivated as I am into the white society, is for me to have a stable income. Stable community to live in. A house, so that I can go out and practice being an Inuk. That is my main reason for existing. That is my main reason for motivation.

A different area code - Looking from the Outside In

Even though some research participants disliked travel, all agreed that it had contributed to their personal growth. Kootoo maintained that schooling was better outside of his home community.

> I learned more down there [in Ottawa] than I learned up here. That's what I see today; if you are going to be involved in trades, you gotta be upgraded away from home. Like more like down south. I notice up here in high school quite a few subjects are missing. Like when they become grade ten, they're only like grade eight. So I talked to a few students and I showed them what the mathematics was and they said they've never seen it and I showed them grade 10 and I showed it was grade eight stuff. There's quite a bit of subjects missing up there. Hopefully that will in the future get better.

Later in the interview, when I asked him if he had a family, he replied,

> Yes, my family is out in Ottawa--I have a seventeen year old daughter and my son just turned fourteen yesterday and I'm glad that they're going to school down there instead of up here. They've got a better chance, far better than I had.

Leaving home had presented difficulties for Eepa when he was fifteen.

> Like, when I was in high school in Yellowknife at Sir John it was pretty

stressful living in Akaitcho Hall. My parents kept on pushing me to go to school, eh, so - I got myself kicked out [laughs]. I was going to graduate but, I don't know, I think I had five credits to finish and then I would have graduated but I never did. I just couldn't take it anymore-- being away from my family and getting into fights with other students - there's Indians, Inuit and white people, anybody...

Although White had travelled extensively before going to SAIT in Calgary he also had trouble adjusting to being away from home.

... something that might have made it easier would have been somebody down south to talk to. That was the most traumatic change. Even though I'd gone to Ottawa, had friends around there, I went to Fort Smith, I had friends around me, Iqaluit I had friends around me. Always I had friends, people. When I went to SAIT, my first year, automotive, I was totally confident. My wife, we agreed that she would wait here, and I go my two months and come back. Jumping into that situation, I realized for the first time in my life that there was nobody to speak Inuktitut, nothing, I'd speak in Inuktitut, to a wall, a rock, to a tree, but there's no response, even as a joke. It was starting to really hit him--hey this is weird, there was no one to speak to and within a week I had my wife down there to stay with me for the next...There was just no way I was going to survive. I was going nuts. In fact that's the reason, I told her. There's nobody to speak Inuktitut-- there's nothing to talk about home and whatever, whatever we do, nobody

to relate to. It hard enough to learn the trade at school but when you are trying to learn what the lifestyle is, twenty four hours a day, from the time you wake up in the morning to night, you are constantly in someone else's environment and there's no retreat to your own, where at least if there was a friend, you could go to a coffee shop and talk to a friend about a hunting trip -you could regress - lose yourself in that- it gives you a break from the culture shock. That surprised me, I remember thinking about how much it was affecting me, because I went to Ottawa for a couple of years, I went to the gold mine, I went to Iqaluit, I went to Smith, I was on my own all the time, but it was exactly seven days from when I arrived in Calgary that my wife came down.

Though both Eepa and White experienced difficulties with travelling, both valued the experience. Eepa and I were talking, hypothetically, about his infant son becoming a helicopter pilot, when he said,

> The best way to learn about life is to go out on your own for awhile. Be independent for so long. Find out who you are. I guess that's the way I look at it.
>
> *So he would have to travel?*
>
> If he's not settled down yet. If he wants to go and learn something, I'm not going to tell him to learn this and that. I'm just going to support him.

I reminded Eepa about his own difficult high school experience.

But you said that it was bad to ...

No I never said it was bad to go away. I said it was a learning experience. Yes, when I was going to high school. I was just a young kid. It was pretty tough.

So it's harder when you're younger.

Yes it is. But you have to live with it because life doesn't get any easier. [he laughed]

And you are only twenty something. I hear you say two things about travelling (1) It's hard and it's difficult and it's good that the kids are staying home to go to school because it's easier for them but (2) travelling is a good thing.

Yes. Shert term travelling only. Like when I went to school it was only for two, three months. Last year I went for three months and it was a good break for me to get out of town. But when I was going to high school it was for a whole year; I was wondering about my parents...

The reason I'm asking-- they do studies-- over half of people in Nunavut won't leave home and even more don't want to leave home.

I don't know why. I think it is good for them to leave town for awhile. You got to have education to live in the world.

But what about bringing education to [your community]?

No, like they're becoming more and more like wimp [Laughs].... "I'm not going to school because it's not here"-- you can't think like that. What if

you want a job that you are interested in-- that's not in your home town and you have to leave town to get it?

Eepa presently works in a community about five hundred kilometres from his place of birth.

This chapter explores factors that contributed to apprenticeship completion for Eepa, White, Ematalook and Kootoo. Chapter Five continues with additional findings and in Chapter Six I return to reflect further on the findings of this chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE

PERSONAL LEARNING EXPERIENCES

Introduction

This chapter comments on some of the personal learning outcomes of the research participants over the period of their lives from the time they decided to enter a trade until the time of their interview. Like Chapter Four, this chapter presents incidents from the data collected in interviews with research participants and Chapter Six further develops these themes.

The chapter is divided into two sections based on the emergent themes: "A whole different perspective" and "So that I can go out and practice being an Inuk."

A whole different perspective

The interviews held with research participants include discussions about experiences in high school, deciding to enter into an apprenticeship, learning to be a tradesman and subsequently working as a tradesman, foreman or manager. In this chapter, I show that there are changes in the participants' perspective that have accumulated from childhood to the present: (1) Kootoo's view, as a younger man, that tradesmen are respected and well paid to his current opinion that they are not; (2) Ematalook's shift from a view that managerial decisions are

simple to a recognition of the complicated nature of management decision making and (3) White's shift from acceptance of excessive drinking to his rejection of excessive drinking and his subsequent decision to take charge of his life.

Kootoo

Kootoo has seen more changes in the North than any of the other participants. He is the oldest person interviewed and he lived on the land, speaking only Inuktitut until age nine. Kootoo looks at things pragmatically, he is less likely to romanticise the traditional Inuit past and speaks with some bitterness on his changed view of his work life and the trades

> Well, when I was younger there was people out there--like wow, one day, I'm gonna be a electrician. Watching the people work, I'm going to be like that guy. It's almost like today - kids they see Gretzky and hey, they want to be like Gretzky. In my day , hey, that's my guy, I want to be like that guy. Not only that, the electrician was getting good pay.

Now Kootoo sees that tradesmen are not respected as he had once perceived.

> Well, if I knew in the past, then I would have quit school, I would have thrown my books at my teacher. If I'm going to be a politician I would have been in B.C.C.[1] which is getting a trade better than what I am today... That's what I am looking at. They [Politicians] are getting a

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[1] Baffin Correctional Centre

better living than I am.... They don't have to get shit from anyone.... The way I see it, I go there a lot, that's part of our maintenance and like I said being a tradesmen could be better, hopefully it will get better. And plus this Nunavut thing. I'm worried about this Nunavut thing, myself. I'm qualified as what I am today but I don't see too many trades people involved. What's going to happen when Nunavut takes over? Us trades people, what's going to happen to us?

Kootoo raised this issue again and again. In a more serious tone, he repeated,

> This Nunavut thing worries me. It worries a lot of native tradespeople. I know that. They don't talk about trades or tradespeople; how they are going to pay them or how they are going to operate....How are they going to maintain the buildings? Whose going to do the job? Who's going to do the work?
>
> [If] you need some money: you've got to be a politician. What I see today, I mean, my native people and I'm not looking at the white people, I'm looking at my native people. I know people who are making thirty thousand dollars more a year than I am and they have grade six and it seems like I heard them talking--they don't seem to know how to operate, what's coming or what's in the past. They don't seem to see that sort of thing.

As a child and young man, Kootoo compared tradesmen to Wayne Gretzky, a highly skilled, respected man with power and influence. Now he sees that, in

fact, as a tradesman he does not have power or influence, and those with power and influence are not skilled or respected.

Ematalook

Ematalook experienced a perspective change when he took on a managerial position and acquired the necessary knowledge to fulfil the position. He found that his tasks and the vocabulary spoken at work changed.

> A lot of the work is dealing with people. The financial management. Last year I was in the acting position for eleven months. The very first thing I had to do was the budget. [He chuckled]. I had enough trouble with people coming in here talking about 'JD's' and all this stuff....
>
> I really noticed the higher we had gone the more responsibilities we have. Everything looks different. A whole different perspective. [In the past I was] just here for the eight hours, that's it, go home and then party. But when I moved into the foreman position and moved away from all of that partying, there was a lot of foresight to look at, not just a couple of days. I had to plan work for a whole year and then our sea lift. And then when I moved from foreman to AMO[2] it was totally different again and I could see what my previous AMO supervisors were always talking about. I had thought it was very simple. Why don't we do it this way? And when I got into this position. Hey. We can't do it this way [laughter].

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2 Area Maintenance Officer

White

White's perspective shift was triggered by leaving his community. The travel to another place disoriented him enough to stop drinking, go back to school and eventually enter automotive mechanics.

> I had worked for Bell Canada here just before I left to Ottawa. It was probably in Ottawa that I started to change, when I started sitting down and thinking, watching from the outside in, exactly what my environment was. I drank a hell of a lot at that time....
>
> I was seventeen. The first time I went down to Ottawa I was sixteen. I was working for Bell Canada here. I worked for Bell Canada for about nine or ten months and I had absolutely nothing to show for it except booze. Having been brought up in this closed environment here, you drank to get drunk. There was no social drinking. We weren't involved in social circles where you sat down and had a few beer and that was it. Our social circle was -- we drank to get drunk. So that was the way it was here, but when I went to Ottawa, I started to see, like I had always heard that you don't drink until you were drunk. Having seen it, amongst various people, and then watching it with people who had the same problem as I did -- you weren't going to succeed....The ones that can moderate their booze, they can function a life time.....[When I stopped drinking] I surprised a hell of a lot of people... like I'm using the drinking as an analogy. For me, it was once I left here and was exposed to a different

> lifestyle that I started to realize the way I was functioning; it wasn't quite right. So looking at it from the outside in, I decided that number one, I had to stop drinking, because it just wasn't doing any good for me within this community. And before coming up here I started to realize other things -- trying to learn how to better utilize your time -- hunting and other things, putting money in the bank....

White summarized it. "So this thing from having gone down south, the changing started there, having been exposed to something else. "

So that I can go out and [be an] Inuk

For all four research participants, technical trades training did not reduce the respect and value given to living off the land. In one context or another each participant raised the notion of a "different world" or "different worlds". Different worlds was a duality of Qallunaaq culture and the culture of the Inuit on the land and the preferred world was the latter.

Different Worlds

Eepa

When I asked the youngest research participant, in the process of a card sort, about the similarities between being a construction electrician and a qamutiik maker, he replied after some silence,

> Being a construction electrician and qamutiik making? I guess you are making something. Like you're bending pipe, installing light fixtures and all that.
>
> *When you learned how to do both of these, the way you learned are they similar?*
>
> No. Well, using hand tools is probably the similarity of these two, using tools. No, I don't thing there is any similarity.
>
> *So how are they different?*
>
> How are they different? I'm in a different world when I am making a qamutiik. Like, I'm not worrying about anything else when I'm making a qamutiik. You know like, I think I am more serious at this [qamutiik maker] than I am at this [construction electrician] because [construction electrician] there is more people you are working with and they're bugging you all the time or whatever, giving you a hard time and so..cause [qamutiik maker] I'm either working alone or with my dad, making qamutiik. I know at construction working, there's four or five electricians

and maybe twenty carpenters and everybody's working there and the other tradesmen, the carpenters are trying to make you hurry up, there's always a conflict between the other tradesmen.

Isn't there conflict with your father, I mean, I had a father? [laughter]

Well, maybe getting me to work. [laughter] No. We know each other pretty good and I know how to make one so he doesn't have to tell me do this and that. He knows I know how to make one now and I've been helping him since I was a little boy. I probably started - before I started school - I guess I used to be outside with him when he was making a qamutiik and I would pass him a hammer, go get something for him. Just watching him work. As I got older he let me work with tools and slowly he progressed me. Actually, it takes a while to make a good qamutiik.

So how is it different that learning to be an electrician on construction?

Qamutiik making is not in the books, like you can't read a textbook and understand a science behind it or whatever. There's a little bit of science, some science to this because if you don't make the qamutiik in a certain angle, the runners would crack in half along the long way. In this [construction electrician] you get textbooks and all that, eh, and you get the theory behind electricity and all that. This is more technical than making a qamutiik but [silence]

Could somebody write a textbook about making a qamutiik?

Probably. The old people. The people. I don't know. They could make

one. They could make one, but people have different styles, eh. My dad passed his style of making qamutiiks down to me. [Construction electrician] You have regulations. In qamutiik making you don't have any regulations. There's a Canadian Electric Code you have to follow and you got to get a permit to do a wiring job. You don't need a permit to make a qamutiik.

Which skill are you most proud of having?

Maybe making a qamutiik?

I don't know, you tell me.

Yes, Yes, I like making qamutiiks. I'm proud to know how to make qamutiiks because not many people know how to make them.

Any other reason?

[thinking]

Any other reason? Yes, I like making qamutiiks, I don't know, and I can shape them anyway I want to.

Throughout this incident, Eepa compares and contrasts qamutiik making and being a construction electrician. He recognizes that there is a science and methodology to qamutiik making that is not unlike electrical work but he prefers to make qamutiik. It is related to his love and respect for his father and Inuit culture which in turn creates a comfortable learning situation for him and, coupled with the nature of the work, allows for personal creativity.

Kootoo

In a card sort, Kootoo said,

> This part, the butcher, or the hunter is one part I enjoy. Now, this part, is like, you are on your own, nobody is giving you hell, or we are not assholes, you know what I mean, you are on your own. What you do is your own mistake, nobody's pushing you, while in the past, in the old days, somebody might have said do it this way, but today, when I'm out hunting, the only person that will stop me from doing what I want to do is the Mother Nature that is I have to deal with the Mother Nature. From there it's a different world. Now, I am a native person. I got to get to the white man's world. Especially, I got to visualize it, operate it, put it to paperwork...

Kootoo recognizes that in the old days, when hunting was the means of survival, there may have been the same pressures as the workplace entails today too. Still he sees his work world as frustrating, and hunting as a haven from the stress of the workplace.

White

White sees hunting as fun. "I find it's such a different lifestyle. You have different types of people. To be content sitting in an office you have to be oblivious to the fact that these guys are having a hell of a time out there."

In interviewing White, I raised the issue that perhaps he was

romanticising the "on the land", hunting experience. He didn't immediately comment but later said,

> If you think I have a dream about living off the land, you haven't spoken to the other 90% of Inuit my age. There's guys out there that would do nothing, in fact avoid work so that they could be out there and it's getting easier for them too, TFN -- hunter's support program[3]. For me it's like if I didn't have a big boat I wouldn't go. Last year, I went out, I had boats before and my dad had a cruiser and things like that. I was heavily involved during the apprenticeship, before I went to MACA[4]. I was always out but when I went to MACA I consciously said I'm going to stop. I want to see how it feels on the other side. I would talk to someone who would say, "Why do you do that? It's such a waste of time. Why do you go out? Why do you buy so many expensive pieces of equipment and ruin it within a couple a years and then start all over again. Why do you do that?" The things that we just took for granted. I remember being an apprentice at 19 and I told the boss I had to run down to [a community 200 km away] and pick something up... He asked me who I was going with, anyone, and I told him I wasn't going with anyone. And he wouldn't have anything of it. He did not think I could do something like that. We do it all the time. A trip

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3 Tungavik Federation of Nunavut - now Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated through the Nunavut Wildlife Management Board is providing grants of $5000 to many hunters to purchase hunting equipment.

4 GNWT's Department of Municipal and Community Affairs.

like [community] is just so routine. Any direction for twice as long...[community] we view that almost like a highway, it's one of the smoothest trails in the NWT.... So when you realize that people have no idea of what that side of life consists of -- lifestyle. It made me think that here's a guy who was up in the north for some twenty years freaking out about the fact that I wanted to go to [community] and it's just such a routine thing. Little incidents like that surprise me about how little people are aware of what's out there. It's a whole different world, that's what it is, it's a hell of a feeling so that's when I started thinking that the guy doesn't worry about that, he never becomes aware or maybe he's experienced it once or twice and he's forgot so I told myself, I was going to stop, plus I needed to stop plus the concentration of working sitting behind a desk -- I knew it was going to be a hard transition because before that I was free, roaming around and going to school.... So, I stopped and now I'm starting to get back into it. I gave myself three or four years and then I said I'd get back into it. I didn't have a snowmobile for about a year and a year and a half. Bought one this year. Built my sled, stuff like that. I bought a shed and I'm gonna put that on the land.

White was not the only participant to report that he had stopped hunting, that he had left that different world behind for a period of time. Eepa has been working on his house and presently not hunting very much and Kootoo recalled,

I think for about maybe four years, I didn't have a canoe or skidoo, I don't

know why, but I sort of got behind. It's sort of like being an electrician today, if you didn't work for six months or a year, you'd get kind of behind.

Preferred World

In spite of temporary withdrawal from the habit of going out on the land, this experience, this world, was the preferred world. It was filled with a composite of positive feelings - feelings of comfort, the land, tradition, family and ancestry, creativity, adventure and travel. White, who spent forty five minutes explaining to me that he indeed was Inuk, said that his motivation in life was that he wanted to live the life of an Inuk. Here are three incidents:

(1) The sole purpose, the prime motivation for myself, even for myself as cultivated as I am into the white society, is for me to have a stable income, stable community to live in, a house, so that I can go out and practice being an Inuk--that is my main reason for existing. That is my main reason for motivation.

When talking about things he and his wife had learned, White said:

(2) Yes, she's very traditional. She uses patterns and she's got a $2000 sewing machine with 73 stitches. She's quite modern, just like I am now with electronic fuel injected vehicles but for the purpose of maintaining our Inuit activities more comfortably.

(3) If I became a millionaire all I would ever do is hunt. I'd build myself a very nice wharf, build myself a whole bunch of cabins in a whole bunch of

different areas and I would take my kids out there and fish and live off the land.

As noted previously, Ematalook had lost his ability to speak Inuktitut at a very young age and did not have the opportunity to learn traditional hunting skills until he was about eighteen. Like White, he has a particular appreciation for accoutrements such as motors and equipment and his interests were not limited by hunting alone. I asked him about his hobbies.

> Well hunting, working on my equipment, snowmobiling, outboard motors. I tried taking up helicopter remote controlling....Yes. First time I tried lifting off my little Alouette, the skid got caught on a chunk of ice when I was lifting off and it rolled over on its side.... I put it away in the crawl space [laughter]....But I enjoy hunting. I also, before I became an apprentice, I took up flying. I got my private pilot's licence, fixed wing airplanes, commercial helicopter's licence....I used to like to go to the dump and practice. I was always very interested in shooting competitions.

I asked him to explain more about hunting.

> In the winter [we go], by snowmobile, in the springtime, same way, snowmobile and in the summer for about six weeks we take off in the boat and only come to town for gas.
>
> *And you go with your family?*
>
> Yes, used to go quite a bit with my wife and kids and my sister and her boyfriend. This year I'll just be going with family. In winter time, [we hunt]

caribou and seals. In January, we try and get polar bear but we've never been lucky. We've only seen polar bear in the off season....In the spring time, we'll go hunting caribou, seal, ptarmigan, whales....

Ematalook, in a card sort, noted that management, shooting and hunting go together .

> The ability to kill an animal and also this [management] would probably go in with the hunting. I used to go out and shoot three caribou at one time and just come back and give a lot of the meat away. But now, I just go out, shoot one for the household, end up giving away a little bit of meat. Same thing with seals. Shoot maybe one or two seals.

If Ematalook's interest in hunting was precipitated by his interest in equipment, there is no question that his interest expanded beyond simply techno-hunting and includes love and respect for the land. Like White and Eepa, he integrates his hunting and work. In a card sort, in which Hunting, Family orientation and Troubleshooting were raised, he responded.

> All three of them go together. When I go out hunting especially in the summer, it's with the family, not so much in the winter time, it's too cold, and in the spring time. Then I'm troubleshooting problems with small minor family crises, the kids and that. [He chuckles] It's interesting that all three would be together.

Ematalook always seemed to see the similarities between work and recreation, Inuit activities and qallunaaq activities. Being an Inuk, living on the land, is

certainly an integral part of his identity.

This chapter starts with exploration of examples of learning that provoked perspective changes. of the learning that Eepa, White, Ematalook and Kootoo have completed in their lives. This data was arranged into categories and themes after all interviews were held. Chapter Seven provides more detail on the findings of this Chapter.

CHAPTER SIX

REFLECTIONS ON ELEMENTS THAT CONTRIBUTE TO APPRENTICESHIP COMPLETION

In Chapter Four, six themes, which I identified as elements that helped research participants complete trades training, are identified based on incidents from the transcripts of the interviews I held with the research participants. The themes are:

If it wasn't for my father

We all had something in common

Second Nature

Seeing things happen right now

Getting paid well while I was learning something

A different area code - looking from the outside in

In this chapter, I reflect further on the findings of Chapter Four and make comparisons with relevant studies, statistics and theories.

If it wasn't for my father

The theme, "If it wasn't for my father", can be broken into two parts. First, entering a trade is often following in the steps of a father or other male relative. Eepa and Kootoo's fathers had worked in a trades environment as unskilled

labourers and all participants had brothers or uncles who had worked in a trades environment. Statistics Canada (1991) reports that one fifth of trade apprentices were "following in a parent's occupational footsteps" and the 1991 "Alberta Survey on Entry into the Trades" reported that the occupation of fathers of 72% of journeymen and apprentices surveyed, were either skilled or unskilled trades.

A second category in this theme is appreciation, respect and honour for the father. Two of the four participants declared that they deeply respected and honoured their fathers, and all participants reported important fraternal relationships with fathers, brothers and/or uncles. The most common shared experience was hunting -- working and learning from their fathers and uncles and identifying closely with them.

An Inuit friend introduced me to her father at an airport. She told him we had worked together at the NWT Housing Corporation. His reply, which she translated, was that he had built many houses in Rankin Inlet, and he was accurate, in carpentry, to one sixteenth of an inch. The building trades and, most likely other mechanical trades, are occupations an Inuit father can value, understand and respect.

Latent in the interview data is the idea that men are comfortable working with men. The subject of women came up infrequently. Two respondents talked, with regard and respect about their wife's occupation and skills but the workplace of the tradesmen is the realm of men.

In her paper entitled Why Inuit Women are More Employed Than Inuit

Men, (1994) presented to the Association of Canadian Universities for Northern Studies Conference, Salome Awa Cousins states,

> In Inuit culture we had definite roles for men and women. Inuit men went hunting and supplied the meat, made tools, and provided transportation. Inuit women stayed home and took care of the children, the dwelling and associated chores. When the seal pelt and fur trade was diminishing a few years ago....Inuit men continued to do what they knew best and liked to do the most, hunting and camping. (p. 4)

Ivan Illick in his book, Gender (1982), coins the term "vernacular gender" to describe the distinction in behaviour between the genders in non-industrial societies. He gives an example:

> From afar, the native can tell whether women or men are at work, even if he cannot distinguish their figures. The time of year and day, the crop and the tools reveal to him who they are. Whether they carry a load on their head or shoulder will tell him their gender. If he notices geese loose in the harvested field, he knows a girl must be nearby to tend them. If he comes across sheep, he knows he will find a boy. To belong means to know what befits our kind of woman, our kind of man. If someone does what we consider the other gender's work that person must be a stranger. Or a slave, deprived of all dignity. Gender is in every step, in every gesture, not just between the legs.
>
> Among Inuit, gender specific tasks were the norm, and men were the

hunters in all instances. Cousins' paper goes on to say,

> One of the problems that many Inuit men have is finding the 'right' employment. Having had definite male and female roles in their culture, it is still hard for many Inuit men to apply for a job that is considered a 'woman's' job. (p.5)

Like traditional Inuit male activities, trades is an area in which the work is active, workers are moving from one work site to another and where tools and vehicles are in use. Trades is an area dominated by men where some male Inuit role models already exist. Thus the work is accepted as "men's work". It is important to be respected by your father, and is embarrassing not to know the skills of male family members. One way to accomplish this is to belong to the community that your father and other male relatives belong to.

We all had something in common

A significant commonality among research participants and their instructors and classmates was gender. Research participants talked about the contribution of their peers to their learning experience. Cousins (1994) states that

> Traditionally Inuit men are taught to be independent. For those independent Inuit it is hard to have a 'boss' and to take instructions from other people. It is even harder to take instructions from someone who has a different cultural background with a different language. (p.3)

Participants cited situations where peer influence had led to negative behaviour including excessive drinking and fighting. However, making friends, helping other students with their work, and receiving help was valued highly. Cousins states that Inuit men are trained to be independent, but my research indicates a willingness to work with each other and a willingness to group together with non Inuit for a common purpose, e.g., completing assignments and studying.

I think that latent in this data, is the fact that Inuit men related to the strong familial and kinship ties characteristic of people who work in trades. Although unspoken, the shared value and respect for family and tradition, i.e. the passing down of behaviour from generation to generation, may contribute to the acceptability to Inuit of trades. Canadians, in general, know that most people follow similar occupational patterns as their families and frequently choose to live near their extended family. What would an Inuk think? Qallunaaq high school and college teachers in the North, who are often single and/or childless, have left their extended and, often, immediate families in remote locations down south. There is little indication that they are attached to their parents or grandparents.

Teachers and college instructors form intensely close knit social and support groups in the NWT. Frequently, these groups are entirely Qallunaaq, and even though it is valuable and necessary for instructors and teachers to share problems and exchange solutions, it creates a systemic polarity based on race; i.e., the Inuit students and the Qallunaaq instructors.

Down south, students formed a correspondingly homogeneous group but it was not because of one's race or ethnicity. The experiences of Eepa, Kootoo, White and Ematalook down south, seemed to be characterised by being part of a group of students, while at the same time being Inuit. White indicated a preference for a racially and experientially mixed class grouping.

Second Nature

Two aspects of the theme, Second Nature, are personality suitability and perceived aptitude for trades type of work.

White spoke eloquently about the difficulty of the Inuk in sitting behind a desk and perceived working with tools at a trade as "a nice transition". When Cousins held interviews with regard to 'Why Inuit women are more employed than Inuit men?"

> one of the common answers I got ...was that Inuit men have a strong desire to be out on the land and would rather be there if they can. Many Inuit cannot wait for the spring because they know they are going hunting and camping when the time is right....A good percentage of Inuit who can afford to go camping will be travelling for many miles for many days and weeks. This is the time of getting back to our roots and just enjoying the freedom which is quite different than working in an "office". (p. 2)

The tradesmen interviewed had lapses wherein their hunting and land

travel was curtailed by other projects including building their own homes. However all participants spend their summer holidays boating, camping and hunting on the land and water in the region of their residence. Their income provided adequate funds to purchase boats and motors, snowmobiles and qamutiik and guns and ammunition. Although they did not often credit their trades experience, one can surmise that their increased skills with tools enhanced their skills with modern hunting equipment and vehicles. In addition, the apprenticeship training program itself, which consists of four eight week training modules away from home, taken over approximately four years did not preclude occasional weekend hunting and camping trips.

Kootoo, White and Eepa all expressed confidence in their abilities to fix things and to build things. Ematalook, who tended to be self deprecating, considered he had a special gift for troubleshooting in mechanical systems which he called a second nature which he thought he shared with other Inuit men. When we speak of second nature we are referring to things that come naturally to us. Maxfield describes it as "tacit knowing--inner urgings, hunches, intuitions" (1990, p. 98). Our propensity for a certain activity, such as the four tradesmen's propensity to fix things, is based on a strong foundation of "rational, logical, analytical and linear" (p. 98) learning processes. The learning process to be able to fix things is occurring in the day to day activities of a young man using mechanical equipment such as snowmobiles and boats and motors for transportation and in trades training. Marilyn Ferguson, quoted by Maxfield,

explains the apparent dichotomy, as "transcendent reasoning, the brain's capacity for simultaneous analysis we cannot consciously track and comprehend" (p. 98). Because we cannot track the brain process we are using, we consider it as a natural gift.

If Inuit men think fixing things is second nature to them, this confidence will be a factor in creating a comfortable learning environment and comfort, the feeling of safety, contributes to learning (Knowles, 1990).

Seeing things happen right now

This theme focuses on preferences among participants. They all preferred active tasks, like working with tools and driving rather than quiet activities. Ematalook appreciated seeing a job through to the end and White gave an example where he had chosen his training based on immediate, rather than long term satisfaction.

Participants indicated the preference and need to be physically active. Inactivity appears to lead to failure in learning situations. In a report prepared by Lutra Associates Ltd. in 1992 called, "Lessons for All: Factors Contributing to Early School Leaving in the Northwest Territories" the most frequently cited problem by Inuit students was being sedentary. Two-thirds of the students perceived most of the time they spent at school was doing work by themselves at their desks or listening to teachers. Of these students, all aboriginal students in

the NWT, only 5% that start school graduate from Grade 12 while in Canada 70% of all eighteen year olds complete grade 12 (Vol. 2, p. 9-10).

In Women's Ways of Knowing, Belenky, *et al.* develop a theory of intellectual and personal development based on the metaphor of voice. The metaphor evolved from the frequent use of the such words as speaking, talking and listening by the research participants. Belenky points out that this is at odds with the visual metaphors that scientists and philosophers frequently use such as "'the mind's eye' [which] suggests a camera passively recording a static reality" and suggests "disengagement and objectification" (p.18). But seeing is not always a passive metaphor. For Kootoo, there are many nuances to the word, "seeing". His preference is for "active seeing" which is not occurring when you are reading but occurs while you are driving and mobile or trying to resolve an electrical problem in a heating system on site. It is interesting to note that Kootoo identified with Wayne Gretzky, who according to the Canadian Encyclopedia is such a creative hockey player because of his "instinctive grasp of the flow of play (Vol. 1, p. 939)."

Getting paid well while I was learning something

All of the participants mentioned they were attracted by regular pay during their apprenticeship and with the expectation of good pay upon completion. While attending school, apprentices in the NWT receive an allowance from the

Unemployment Insurance Commission that covers living expenses. School tuition is also paid. While working, the apprentice is paid by his or her employer. In the first year, it is 50% of the journeyman's rate, and it increases through the program. In comparison, Inuit students attending college or university full time are also eligible for coverage, based on a formula, of all fees, travel and living expenses, receive preference for summer employment with the GNWT and are eligible for scholarships.

With regard to the salaries of journeymen, the employment issue recently is not pay level but availability of regular, consistent work. Still, Canada Employment and Immigration Commission projected, based upon increases in job openings, pipefitters, plumbers, electricians, insulators and carpenters are among the fastest growing occupations in Canada. NWT Trades employers expect in the 1990s trades jobs will increase, especially in the areas of carpentry related jobs (NWT Construction Industry Needs Assessment and Labour Market Review, 1990.).

Kootoo expressed concern that he would not have employment when the Nunavut Territory is created. Because Inuit beneficiaries have preference with regard to government jobs in Nunavut, Kootoo's concerns may be unfounded but with a trend toward privatization of service delivery and the dearth of Inuit tradesmen in the private sector, he may have a point. According to the NWT Construction Review (1989) "no Inuit certified carpenter earned a dollar of the 13 million dollars of new construction in the town of Iqaluit during 1988."

Kootoo also objected to the high salaries provided to politicians who "didn't have to go to grade ten." The former Baffin South Member of the Legislative Assembly made in excess of $118,000 in the fiscal year 1993-1994[1]. Other Inuit MLA's received larger amounts. It is difficult to determine education levels of MLA's but some of the occupations listed on nomination papers were, "hunter", "driver" and "unemployed".

It is interesting to note that according to a profile in Up Here magazine in July/August 1994, Willie Adams is "probably...the wealthiest Inuk in Canada" (Mullington, p. 57). Willie Adams is a journeyman electrician with interests in several businesses and Canada's first Inuit senator.

A different area code - Looking from the Outside In

Eepa, White, Ematalook and Kootoo all said going away from home, particularly to Southern Canada, had contributed to their personal growth.

Kootoo said that schooling was better down south. Keewatin Central MLA John Todd and the Legislative Assembly's Standing Committee on Finance seem to agree and in 1992 concluded that "in education at least, NWT residents may be getting ripped off" (Bell, p.12). The Committee said that many GNWT departments are "'activities-driven' rather than 'results driven'". "'The most

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1 from the Report on the Indemnities, allowances and expenses paid to or incurred by members of the 12th Legislative Assembly for the fiscal year ended March 31, 1994. Tabled on October 5, 1994 in the NWT Legislative Assembly.

obvious (offender) is the Department of Education who measure success by enrollment statistics with no reference to achievement" (p. 12). Some students complain that not much work was done at school. Colin Irwin, in a federally funded demographic study, agreed that the government had failed at maintaining the quality of education. Respondents identified that not only was education better in the South, but also travel away had been a good learning experience for them because it developed discipline and given them a new, wider perspective.

Eepa and White talked about how difficult it was to be away from home. Current trends in the NWT have been to bring education to the communities. The Department of Education, Culture and Employment had responded to community requests for local high school education. Until the late 1980s, high school education was offered at only four locations in the NWT. The GNWT now boasts that twenty eight schools offer high school programs and by the year 2000, students in all communities should be able to access some high school programs (People: Our Focus on the Future, 1994, p. 51). There are 64 communities in the Territories, the largest, Yellowknife, has a population of 15,179 and only 12 have a population over 1000 people (Statistics Quarterly, Sept. 92, p. 4). Nunavut Arctic College, serving the 22,000 residents of the Nunavut Settlement Area, has divided its resources over three regional campuses and has an Adult Education facility of some sort in every community.

Eepa noted the advantage of short terms away. His experience was the

"block release" arrangement of the apprenticeship program where students are away for periods of about eight weeks per year only. In 1995, Nunavut Arctic College has started offering courses in two and three week components rather than traditional four month sessions.

This final theme, "A different area code --looking from the outside it" leads to the Chapter Seven's first theme related to personal learning experiences called "A whole different perspective."

CHAPTER SEVEN

REFLECTIONS ON PERSONAL LEARNING EXPERIENCES

Introduction

Chapter Five was divided into two sections based on the emergent themes: 1) "A whole different perspective" and 2) "So that I can go out and practice being an Inuk". In this chapter, I reflect further on these themes. The first section, "A whole different perspective" is about meaning perspective changes (Mezirow, 1991) and by studying the incidents that were the basis of the theme it seems clear that transformative learning or perspective transformation, as theorized by Mezirow, took place and this is illustrated.

During this first theme analysis, I noticed that there were incidents in the text, which demonstrated research participant awareness of the relative nature of knowledge. Even the theme title, itself, implied this. This led me to apply the developmental positions postulated by William Perry in his study Forms of Intellectual and Ethical Development in the College Years (1970) as a way to further describe the tradesmen's personal learning. To represent the thinking of the research participants according to Perry's typology, I needed more data and I went back to the transcripts for additional incidents. In other words, the comparison of my findings to Perry's theory, true to my methodology, emerged from the "constant comparative method" but I added additional incidents to

better document the application of Perry's epistemological positions.

The second section entitled "So that I can go out and practice being an Inuk" focuses on a constant, holistic, perspective that is held by all four research participants - that is, respect, love and comfort in the Inuit way of living on the land.

A whole different perspective

A meaning perspective shift

When Ematalook says that being a manager gave him, "a whole different perspective", he is talking about what Jack Mezirow (1991) calls a "perspective transformation".

> Adulthood is the time for reassessing the assumptions of our formative years that have often resulted in distorted views of reality. Our meaning schemes may be transformed through reflection upon anomalies.... [or] in response to an externally imposed disorienting dilemma. (p. 13)

There were numerous incidents of changes in the participants' points of view based on both reflection upon anomalies and in response to disorienting dilemmas. Three incidents of perspective changes presented in Chapter Four, are (1) Kootoo's view, as a younger man, that tradesmen are respected and well paid, to a shift to his current opinion that they are not; (2) Ematalook's view that managerial decisions are simple to make, to a recognition of the complicated nature of management decision making; and (3) White's acceptance of

excessive drinking, to his rejection of excessive drinking and his subsequent decision to take charge of his life. In Fostering Critical Reflection in Adulthood, Mezirow. 1990, states,

> Transformative learning involves a particular function of reflection: reassessing the presuppositions on which our beliefs are based and acting on insights derived from the transformed meaning perspectives that result from such reassessments. The learning....may involve correcting distorted assumptions --epistemic, sociocultural or psychic. (p.18)

In this study, incident (1), Kootoo's change of mind may be based on a change in external reality. It may be that when he was a child, tradesmen did receive more respect than they presently do. However, incident (2) is an example of an epistemic perspective shift and incident (3) of sociocultural and psychological assumption reassessment.

Epistemic Perspective

Epistemic perspectives have to do with the nature and use of knowledge. In Chapter Five, Ematalook explains how becoming a manager gave him a different perspective. As a plumber, he had focused on repairs and maintenance, but as a manager he had to deal with costs, budgeting, scheduling and dealing with the public his division served. He advanced from the less developed way of knowing in which he held "that every problem has a correct solutions if we could only find the right expert"(p.15) to the recognition that it was

much more complicated.

Sociocultural Perspective

The way White explains his move away from excessive drinking to taking charge of his life is like a text book case in transformative learning. The trigger incident was his relocation in Ottawa in a very different cultural situation. He witnessed others not drinking to the point of inebriation and this experience enabled him to depose his perception that it was appropriate for him, as a part of the group to drink and drink excessively. It is an example of sociocultural perspective shift.

Psychic Perspective

White says, "like I'm using the drinking as an analogy." Not only did he realize excessive drinking was unacceptable for him, but he also saw that "the way I was functioning [in general]; it wasn't quite right" when he "looked at it from the outside in". Through critical self reflection, looking at himself and how he fit into his group of friends at home and comparing how he fit into the Ottawa group, he was able to view himself as an entity separate from either . His psychological perspective had shifted and thus he perceived that he could take charge of his life. The drinking analogy is about being able to extricate himself from group behaviour and represents a changed perspective on his personal locus of control and his self-concept.

William Perry

Most of Mezirow's interest and study completed in the 1980s and 1990s is about the process of how people change their learning perspectives. One of Mezirow's major research projects was on women returning to college. William Perry was also interested in changing perspectives and his major work, also based on college students published in 1970, Forms of Intellectual & Ethical Development in the College Years postulated different developmental positions "in the 'forms' in which a person perceives his world rather than in the particulars or 'content' of his attitudes and concerns" (p. ix). Having documented how two of the four Inuit tradesmen shifted in their learning perspectives, I became curious as to their level of intellectual development, particularly since both Mezirow and Perry's work was based on study of college and university students.

Perry identified nine development positions which when clustered indicate three primary levels of intellectual development. These are developmental in the sense that men enter college at the first level and proceed to the third level by the time they leave. The first level of development is Duality.

> wherein a person construes all issues of truth and morality in terms of a sweeping and unconsidered differentiation between in-group vs. outgroups. This division is between the familiar world of Authority-right-we, as against the alien world of illegitimate-wrong-others. (p. 59)

After the individual recognizes "legitimate human uncertainty"(p. 89) through observing various legitimate and sometimes opposing points of view, he moves

to the second level of development called Relativism at which time "he now finds it safer to assume complexity as a general state and then to discover simplicity if it happens to be there" (p. 113). The final level is Commitment. Having recognized the "plurality of the relativistic world" the individual courageously makes affirmations about his own "truths, relationships, purposes, activities and cares in all their contexts" (p. 135).

At college, Ematalook enjoyed the security of finding the right answers. He states, his instructor,

> was able to get me access into the computer system he had set up for mathematics, programs for plumbing. He had done all of our formulas and put that into the system so and then you'd go there, do a step level, do about a hundred questions at night time, work at it, go back into it, enter everything into a computer, see how much you had wrong. It was really interesting.

Figuring out the right answer was satisfying. Ematalook's appreciation of this was characteristic of Perry's first level.

As well, when he was working as a tradesmen, management decisions appeared to him to be simplistic, and he couldn't understand why managers made, what he considered, wrong decisions. But when given the management position himself, he saw the complications. He was trained as a plumber where decisions were based on a certain set of technical procedures. Based on his education, he was promoted in the GNWT Public Works and Services

Department and received management training which was another set of technical skills. He was able to grasp these skills.

> When I moved from foreman to AMO[1] it was totally different again and I could see what my previous AMO supervisors were always talking about. I had thought it was very simple. Why don't we do it this way? And when I got into this position. Hey! We can't do it this way [laughter]!

Ematalook perception of things as "very simple"' was, again, characteristic of Perry's dualistic thinking. He knew the nature of the repair and maintenance work and thus thought he had all the right answers unlike, "they", the "others", the supervisors. His recognition of diversity of opinion and his subsequent uncertainty indicate a move towards Relativism. Over the period of time from student to AMO his way of thinking had changed. Other indications of his development follow.

Ematalook was the only respondent who preferred maintenance work to construction work. In maintenance work there is no definite answer. A practical solution must be figured out and applied to the problem and for this reason, he thought maintenance was more difficult.

> You can take a service plumber and take him and put him in construction but you can't do it as easily with someone who's worked in the construction field and put him in the service field. It's not the same thing. I know down south, like construction, everything is all like photocopies of

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1 Area Maintenance Officer

each job. You go to a big subdivision and all the houses are the same, so the plumbing layout is the same after you do a couple.

Installation work follows rigid procedures while maintenance is less predictable. Diversity and uncertainty at the work place, characteristics of Perry's Relativism, according to Ematalook can lead to an "overwhelming urge of panic". Perhaps some of this panic is assuaged with his realization that although right answers are not necessarily absolute, problem solving still brings satisfaction. It is in his thoughts about troubleshooting in which he manifests his development.

Troubleshooting can be done alone, but its best when it's done with other people. I noticed very early in my supervisory experience that other people's opinions, may not be that great but if you join the two of them together you can come up with a better idea usually....

Oh, yes, it's interesting. I thought I knew our boilers down in the federal building and a couple of weeks ago we had to go through a troubleshooting process. It turned out to be something, how can I say, it shouldn't have been. ...We just found it by accident. [He laughed]

Because there are no absolute answer, all opinions become useful. Relativism, the acceptance that values are contextual and relativistic can be a source of frustration as well as humour. This next incident shows how he and his friend predict the contextual thinking of visiting contractors.

My buddy, there C., [a Qallunaaq] ..., he's one of our plumbers, he's 25 or 26 and we were talking and he's lived up here almost all of his life in

Cape Dorset. We have a really good time when contractors come into the shop and we're both sitting there talking about a job and the contractor comes up to him and starts asking for something, for material or something....They automatically assume that he's the boss. So we sit there and listen to the guys talking. C., he goes, "Well, you better ask the boss."

"Oh. Where is he?" [C.] looks over.

"There he is." [chuckles] Then their faces kinda go red. They get embarrassed. [chuckles] It always happens. All the time. So when the guys are walking out we always sit there and start laughing. [Laughter]

I had explained this incident [without names] to White and he exhibited Relativism in his interpretation of what occurred.

I'm aware of situations like that. Because normally, I mean, all the authority figures up here have been white, the RCMP came up, the Roman Catholic church, the government, the bureaucrats and if you go to a government office right now its still like that way. The majority of higher management is white. It's not a racial or intentional thing, its just something-- If you walk into a hallway and you've always used the blue door, you've always known the blue door is to be, say the manager's door, when you walk into another community and you see a blue door and a red door, you go to the blue door if you're [seeking] management. I think that's where it stops.

White applies a theory to put a context on the situation. Both White and Ematalook have a relativistic view of knowledge.

Perry's positions six to nine are about commitment after recognition that there are multiple options in life. Ematalook has made a conscious commitment to being an Inuk. As a young adult, he learned to hunt, he married an Inuk and he continues to improve his lost Inuktitut language skills. He has taken responsibility at work as a plumber and as an administrator and is trying to decide whether to continue as a tradesman or combine it with administration and management.

I think that White, as well, may have made a conscious commitment to being what he defines as an Inuk.

> I'm not stuck in one subject group. I refuse to be. The Inuit lifestyle is a fairly, it's one where you are varied in different activities all the time. To be able to say, successfully go, from point A to point B you have to ride a snowmobile exceptionally well, sometimes and sometimes you are travelling forty, fifty miles an hour, and sometimes you've got fifteen hundred pounds on the sled behind you and if you fall off its going to kill you. ...Yes. You have to be an extremely proficient rider, active, physical rider. Mentally you have to be trained for the environment - if you take somebody who's worked in an office all their life and put them out in the middle of nowhere, and its forty below, they might be dressed for it, [but he'd] possibly flip right out. He'd kill himself. Then you have to be aware

of your surroundings. Concentrate. There's so many things to get your Coleman stove going in the middle of winter, you've got to be good with rope, you've got to be good with wood. It's really varied. Everything you do out there is different. Compared to a southern environment and career [which is] a very narrow path, it's very condensed, concentrated, you get really good at one thing-- there's a real tendency that that's all you are going to do. For me...I don't ever want to get away from, having the variety, just being exposed to many, many different things and how it all fits together.

White's affirmation is to live a varied life of many activities. Part of his commitment is not committing to one career.

Perry found that freshmen enter college at stage 3, 4 and 5 and graduate in positions 6,7,8, just short of making a lifestyle commitment. In terms of intellectual development, it would appear that a combination of apprenticeship, life and work experience can lead to similar levels of intellectual development as Perry's eighty two male Harvard graduates exhibited.

So that I can go out and [be an] Inuk

The first section of this Chapter and Chapter Four is about perspective changes. This section focuses on a constant, holistic, perspective that is held by all four research participants - that is, a respect, love and comfort in the Inuit way of living on the land. I believe that this life view and life style is a

psychological stronghold, for all participants - symbolically a haven of safety and security. I have presented textual examples of this phenomena, mostly in relation to hunting, and, in addition, would point out that frequently, in the interviews, a move to discussion of Inuit culture was marked by a different, softer, intonation of voice.

What is this Inuit way of living on the land? It is a dream. For some, it is nostalgia. It is about a time when the Inuit lived independently from Qallunaaq, travelling, hunting and fishing and living on the land. For others, like Kootoo, the Inuit way of living is a way of life that has passed and although he recognises it was hard and, probably frustrating as a native person, he gets comfort from the knowledge that it existed. There is a connection to and an internalised respect and belief the old way of life in which Inuit were autonomous in so far as is possible while relying totally on the land.

What else is this Inuit way of living on the land? It is a present day reality. All research participants continue to hunt and fish and eat country foods. White sees hunting as exciting and entertaining. It's like being a fanatic golfer and accepting with satisfaction, an inherited membership. Ematalook, who did not live all of his youth in Nunavut has purposefully woven his interest in problem solving of mechanical systems, his work, his family and living on the land into a lifestyle. Eepa enjoys building qamutiik. Kootoo takes his young teenage son who visits from Ottawa out to shoot his first caribou, thus continuing the tradition. Among all native households in Nunavut, 91% report consuming

meat and fish obtained through hunting and fishing and 59% report that most or all meat and fish is obtained through harvesting (NWT Renewable Resource Harvester Survey, Winter 1990- quoted in the NWT 1990 Health Report). In a report on personal expenditures, the top five purchases among Inuit in order of frequency included gasoline and equipment for hunting, fishing and trapping, (1991 Bureau of Statistics). Kit Minor (1992), who worked as a social worker in the NWT for ten years goes so far as to say, that travelling on the land, for the Inuit, is necessary for good emotional and mental health.

Hunting and the Inuit culture are important to all four research participants. In addition, they all made mention of learning experiences that occurred while hunting. Hunting was a training ground for all of them. Laughlin, an anthropologist, (1976) lists two neglected aspects of hunting

> (a) hunting is a much more complex organization of behaviour than is currently admitted under the traditional "subsistence technique" categorization; and (b) the intellectual and genetic repertoire of the animal developed in this behavioral regime both permitted and enabled the recent acquisition of civilization to be a rapid acquisition.(p.193)

Laughlin identifies behaviour complexes or skills of hunting; "(a) programming the child; (b)the scanning or collection of information; (c) stalking and pursuit of game; (d) immobilization of game, including the killing or capture of game; and (e) retrieval of the game" (p. 193). Hunting has changed dramatically in the lifetime of the tradesmen interviewed according to White and Kootoo, but it is

still an activity requiring skills. In "The Inuk as a Hunter" Richard Nelson (1976) characterizes the hunter's attitudes as "uncommonly self-assured" (p. 203), confident of his physical competence, perseverant and wise in the expenditure of his energy (p. 203-206). It should come as no surprise that significant learning is occurring when people are on the land. These skills are transferrable, specifically to a trade.

Chapter Eight

SUMMARY, PROPOSITIONS, IMPLICATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH, POLICY SUGGESTIONS & CONCLUSION

Summary

Because the findings of this study are subjective, and thus a function of my interpretations as researcher, I began this thesis by explaining something about myself as a Northerner, an instructor and an administrator. I emphasised the reality and domination of the land, or what the Inuit call "nuna vut"[1]. I pointed out some of the problems that I am personally aware of which must colour my perspective. In Chapter Two, I documented these and other educational problems in the NWT. According to the Globe & Mail, and summarizing these problems, when Nunavut is established, in 1999, it will have the highest unemployment rate, the lowest literacy rate, the youngest and fastest-growing population, the most welfare recipients per capita, the highest cost of living and the most underdeveloped public infrastructure in Canada (Feschuk, 1995). The government of Canada has not let these facts stop the development of a new Territory.

Nunavut, which is a form of self government, is like a qamutiik being pulled by a team comprised of the forces of traditional culture and occupational training. It is hoped that traditional culture will nurture self worth which will assist

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[1] The literal translation of "nuna vut" is "our land"

in healing social ills while education and training will increase employment, reducing social benefits costs and increasing tax revenue which will mean that Inuit self government can be a genuine, responsible form of government

This study turned out to be not only about occupational training but also about hunting which is one aspect of traditional culture . Hunting, in this study is traditional in the sense that it is common to the past. Kootoo, White, Eepa and Ematalook mentioned the following activities: repairing motors and equipment, navigating, camping, building qamutiik and boats, butchering, shooting, fishing, using harpoons, trapping, and resource management, which I define as hunting skills. This study shows that rather than an unlikely match, teaming the forces of traditional culture, i.e., hunting, and occupational training, i.e., trades training, is feasible.

This study is based on interviews with four Inuit tradesmen. Two of the journeyman were electricians, one was a plumber gasfitter and one was an auto mechanic. The purpose of this grounded research study was to consider two broad questions.

1. What contributed to their completion of a trades program?
2. What kind of personal learning occurred while becoming a tradesman?

Chapter Four contains the findings and Chapter Six the interpretation for the first question. The theme titles are direct quotations from the tradesmen which represent factors that contributed to their trades completion and they are

as follows:

"If it wasn't for my father..."

This theme recognizes that Inuit tradesmen, like other tradesmen, are frequently following the footsteps of their fathers and are encouraged by their fathers and other male relatives. Work in the building and mechanics trades is considered as suitable work for Inuit men because the vernacular gender of Inuit men was defined by tool making, hunting, providing transportation and working with other men (Cousins, 1994). With the exception of hunting, these activities are intrinsic in construction and mechanical trades.

"We all had something in common"

This feeling of being accepted among peers and family at home extends to experiences in the classroom in colleges in Alberta and Manitoba. Being part of a group with shared interests, shared goals and shared family value contributes to a feeling of belongingness which, in turn, leads to apprenticeship completion.

"Second Nature"

The tradesmen indicated that they thought their personalities suited trades work and they had an aptitude for mechanical trades. This confidence contributed to their transition to the classroom and the workplace.

"Seeing things happen right now"

All of the tradesmen preferred active tasks, like working with tools and driving rather than quiet activities. Ematalook appreciated seeing a job through

to the end. White gave an example where he had chosen his training based on immediate, rather than long term satisfaction. I think this quotation has an additional meaning. The men preferred "active seeing" in which a person, rather than focusing on one item or scene, uses his or her vision in a wider sense, including the peripheral, to see multiple, interactive tangible relationships among things as one would while driving, or figuring out how a machine works.

The categories that make up the first four identified themes can be reconfigured as factors that apply equally to both hunting on the land and to tradesmen's work experience. Figure 3 shows the relationship between hunting and the trades. The overlapping area is common to both activities.

Shared characteristics of Hunting and Trades Training and Work

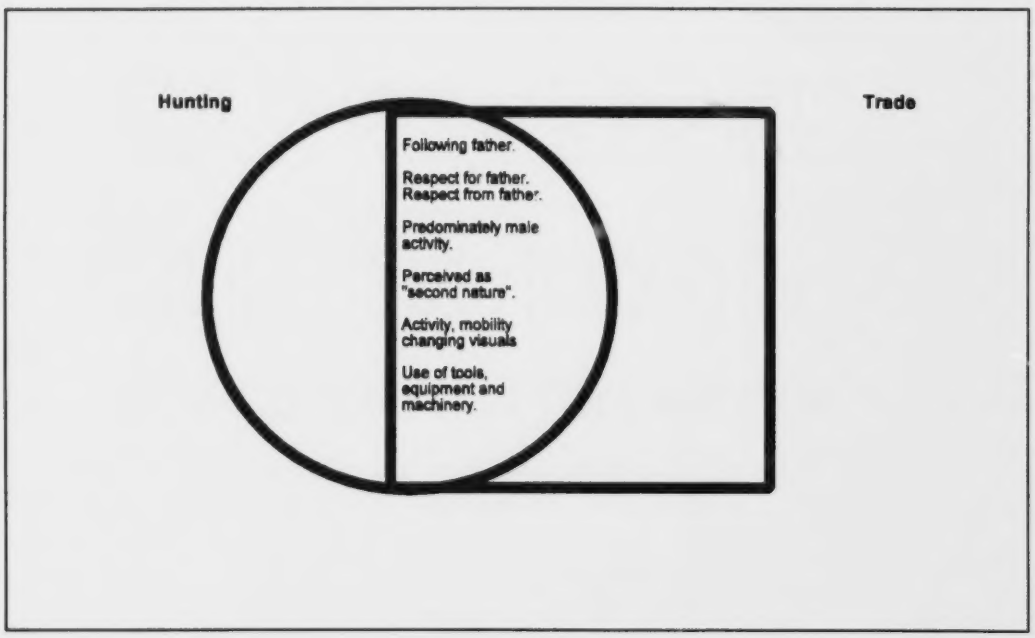

Figure 3

The final two themes, from Chapter Four and Six do not fit into the above model.

"Getting Paid while I was learning something"

The fifth theme identifies that Inuit like to be paid. Obtaining trade certification in Canada requires that a person be indentured and apprentices are paid by their employer while at work. They receive financial assistance when taking their courses and this seems to be appreciated. The purpose for this money that was most frequently mentioned was to purchase machinery and equipment for hunting. Contemporary hunting costs money and thus the desire to hunt motivates them to work.

A different area code - Looking from the outside in

Travelling away from their home community, specifically to locations in southern Canada, was also valued by the research participants because they thought the training they received was superior than at home and because it gave them a wider perspective.

"A Whole different perspective"

Though it is the similarities between hunting and trades that form a bridge over the chasm of cultural differences between Inuit and Qallunaaq, the cultural differences also heighten personal learning. Chapter Five and Seven are about personal learning. The first theme, "A Whole different perspective", examines examples of personal intellectual growth among the tradesmen including examples of transformational learning that the men experienced. In addition, I

have documented how two of the participants seem to have reached the higher levels of commitment in William Perry's categorizations of intellectual and ethical development.

"So that I can go out and [be an] Inuk"

The second theme of Chapters Five and Seven is made up of the categories "different world" and "preferred world". All four participants conceptualized "different worlds" and they demonstrated preference for the world of the Inuit.

Figure 4 illustrates how skills and knowledge acquired in hunting contribute to learning a trade, which I think in turn, leads to advancement in ability to hunt. Learning from the one "world" is transferred to the other "world" and the learning builds on itself. The tradesmen have acquired strategies for seeking knowledge, motivation is generated and they have become self directed learners. The drawing suggests a ripple effect with each concentric wave, building on the previous, even though, paradoxically, they are different forms, with the circle representing "Hunting" and the square representing "Trades".

In Chapter Two, I discussed how Inuit often have two names, following from the belief that an individual possesses two souls or turnqaninq and Inuk with Christian names, often mention their "Inuktitut name". The "different worlds" referred to by the Inuit tradesmen are spheres of these two different identities, or souls. Hunting represents the continuation of traditional culture, and Trades represents their place in the contemporary Canadian community.

Expanding Personal Knowledge, and Learning Skills in the Context of Two Identities

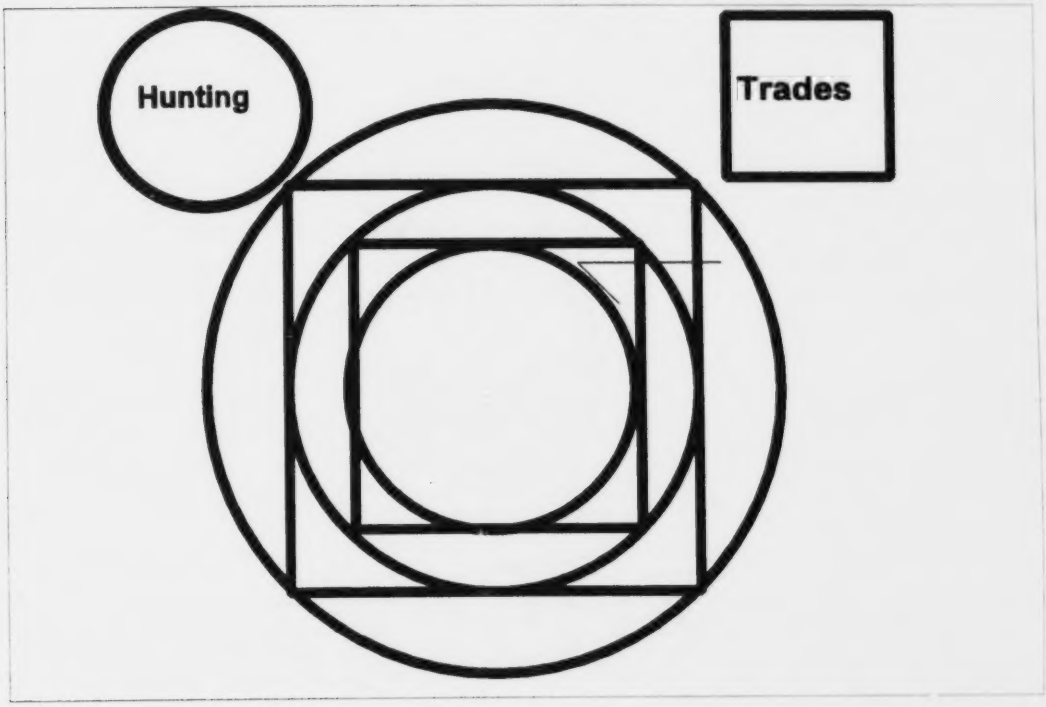

Figure 4

Theoretical Propositions

The following theoretical propositions emerged from the study.

1. Training and employment in construction or mechanical trades fits with living a contemporary Inuit lifestyle and serves to preserve Inuit culture.

The contemporary Inuit lifestyle has evolved from the Stone Age Eskimo. Advancements in transportation, communication, health and education services as well as community infrastructure and technology have changed the stereotypical Eskimo. Preservation of culture includes not only maintaining traditions but adapting to present and future world realities. The contemporary hunter needs money to purchase hunting equipment and mechanical skills to maintain his or her machinery and equipment. This is a lifestyle that maintains the essential aspects of traditional Inuit life including travelling on the land in both winter and summer and hunting for, harvesting and eating country foods.

2. Hunting is a model of effective education.

The research participants all referred to hunting skills in discussions about personal skills. Hunting is an important educational experience because it develops skills, discipline and confidence and it serves to promote life long learning. This study also supports the common wisdom that preservation of culture, which came up as hunting skills in this study, is important for personal

intellectual development. In the past, as discussed in Chapter Seven, hunting was a very difficult activity which required rigorous and endless thought and study. The adaptations being made today are also challenging.

3. The preference and refinement of the aptitude of "Active Seeing" is characteristic of the intellectual development of Inuit tradesmen.

The theme, "Seeing things happen right now" is a quote from Ematalook and one interpretation is an impatience to get things done. Research participants gave examples of impatience which, could inhibit learning, i.e., needing money immediately, avoiding sitting still in a classroom and wanting to drive and be moving over the land. In some cases, it was by suppressing this impatience that the research participants completed their training.

However, Kootoo, in the course of a card sort, developed a construct for the activities of butchering and inspection in contrast to paperwork and explained that he liked to be watching many things, at once. I realized there is an additional meaning in this phrase. He advanced the concept of what I call "active seeing". Active seeing is more than wanting to see motion and activity and it is more than watching with heightened sensitivity. Active seeing is very important to learning.

Active seeing is a physical activity. It is being involved in the activity oneself. It is envisioning the past, present and future simultaneously as one

must driving, playing a sport, hunting or fixing things. It requires not only focus, but also peripheral vision. It is the basis of how the research participants learn and it is rudimentary for many Inuit men.

These Inuit tradesmen learn by working in tangible systems. Is it possible that they carry this active seeing methodology to their abstract thinking? That they want to envision the whole system or process, rather than break it into steps? Hunting is about active seeing. Hunting incorporates seeing, seeking, motion and action. For centuries Inuit men developed by becoming hunters and "The Hunter" is a metaphor for describing male Inuit learning.

Implications for Further Research

1. **"The old myth that those who work with their hands do so only because they can't work with their minds is yet alive and well"**

   (Fawson, 1993,)

Two of the tradesmen I interviewed have had opportunities in government administration and management. On attaining journeyman status, White never actually worked as a labourer in his trade. Ematalook is presently a shop supervisor and White is an administrator. In addition, White has been appointed a member of a significant public Territorial regulatory board, pending federal ministerial approval. Kootoo is thinking of getting involved in politics, and his education level would exceed the average level of education of Inuit MLA's.

Precedent has been set in that the senator for the NWT is an electrician.

In 1985, Alberta Manpower completed, "A Comparative Analysis of Apprenticeship Systems Locally, Nationally, Internationally", which indicates a lack of mobility among people employed in the trades. "Great difficulty exists in applying their specialized skills beyond the narrow range of their trade" (p.14). I do not think that this is true in the Northwest Territories. There are three factors that may explain this departure.

1) Because Inuit, both women and men, are Priority One of the GNWT Affirmative Action hiring policy, many opportunities arise in government, for Inuit with formal educational qualifications. Thus it may be just a function of promoting or appointing the most qualified from a group with minimal education levels.

2) It could be that the experience of learning a trade, for an Inuk, is such an overwhelming change from his or her lifestyle that it makes the education of greater worth than for trades persons trained at home. Leaving his or her community of less than 3000 people to live in a city such as Edmonton or Calgary, experiencing the logistics of city living, fraternizing in a different culture leads to the reassessment of previous thinking constructs. The Inuit trades person may have a wider range of skills because immersion in another culture requires him to adjust.

3) There is a third explanation. Could it be that trades people are unjustly judged throughout the world? Could it be as a carpentry/carpenter instructor

claimed in the Halifax Herald that we think that those who work with their hands do so only because they can't work with their minds? Rather than lacking the ability to transfer their skills, could there be a glass ceiling that excludes tradesmen from employment opportunities?

Intellectual development characterised by an openness and willingness to learn and the skills to be able to learn is a major objective of adult pedagogy in North America today. My research of four Inuit tradesmen indicates that, for them, this was an outcome of their trades training. Some of the research participants appear to show an equivalent level of intellectual development as the Harvard students that Perry studied. The research participants demonstrate a high level of interest in learning other skills and knowledge areas. The Alberta Survey on Entry into the Trades in 1991 noted that 35% of journeymen (persons) are certified in more than one trade. Of these, 21% did not complete the formal training, (p.8) and thus must have learned the second trade on their own most likely at the workplace. This suggests that becoming a journeyman is not the end of education but for at least 35%, a beginning. A generalization is not appropriate, but further research on the transferability of trades training would be valuable.

2. Transformative Learning

Transformational learning occurs when a person reflects critically on a disorienting life experience, like moving away from home, and is exhibited in

research participants in my study. This study shows how intellectual development among the four tradesmen, in many cases, resulted from meaning perspective changes. Transformational learning contributed to intellectual development similar to what is experienced by Harvard university students. These learners acquired practical skills mostly from working with and solving problems related to things. In their life times they have also had to deal with profoundly disorienting life experiences. Was it the hands on skills training or their remarkable life experience that enhanced their transformational learning ? Inuit or other Northerners who were born in camps or small communites and later travelled to the south would be a good population to choose if a researcher wanted to study incidents of transformational learning. Apprenticeship and trades training might be a good area of study for a researcher interested in finding practical methods to encourage and support transformational learning.

Suggestions for Changes in Education in Nunavut

1. Support and encourage education offered outside of Nunavut.

In Nunavut today much emphasis is being placed on bringing education and training home to the Inuit. The four Inuit tradesmen I interviewed all expressed the opinion that taking training "outside" was important to their personal growth and development as an adult. Reasons given for this importance included better quality of training a new environment promoting new perspectives. Factors effecting the quality of training in trades programs include instructor skills, training facilities, off site projects to observe and the experiences of other students in the class. In many cases a southern location can provide a wider breadth of examples of construction or equipment than a northern site. In addition, research participants found the experience of travel, living in another type of community, meeting different people and looking at their home community from a different perspective, a profound learning experience itself.

An unfortunate corollary to offering education programs in the south is that many Inuit do not consider travelling for education and training or if they do try it, they drop out. Even though Inuit often object to travelling away from home, Nunavut leaders should reconsider the policy of providing almost all education at home. Although there are already opportunities and encouragement for Inuit to

travel down south to school, there needs to be more specific encouragement. Promoting the possibility of attending a summer session or one semester might be a way to encourage a university education.

2. Culturally Relevant Curriculum

Currently Nunavut leaders support cultural education in the schools. In addition, the NTI's Hunters Assistance Program provides money to Inuit hunters for modern equipment to hunt on the land. Results of my research endorse this approach. This study shows that cultural learning, specifically hunting skills, is a foundation for technical skills development.

3. Provide support and encouragement to Inuit to enter trades

a) For employment as skilled labourers.

This study suggests that trades training for Inuit is, as White says, "A nice transition". Inuit are more likely to succeed in completion of trade training than in high school completion or other forms of post secondary education. Their opportunities for employment are significantly improved.

b) As a transitional step to additional training and other careers.

This study shows that a combination of trades training and work experience has led to intellectual development and this development is transferable to further training, advancement into management or other career opportunities.

4. Consider some same gender classrooms.

This research indicated that apprentices identified with older male relatives and friends and developed peer support groups in the predominately male classes at college in southern Canada. Further research on the outcome of separating male and female students might be of value.

Conclusion

Inuit have given a great deal to the rest of the world. They are responsible for worldwide use of design prototypes of parkas, igloos, kayaks, and slit goggles. In centuries past, Inuit gave Europeans the most advanced whaling technology in the world (Dickason, 1992).

Accomplishments continue. Male and female artists and craftsmen from Cape Dorset, Pangnirtung, Holman Island and other communities are renowned by the international art community. Susan Aglukark, a musician from Arviat, has made the pop charts in Canada, United State and Australia. Northern Rangers, a military auxiliary comprised of Northern natives, continue to advise United States and Canadian military on reconnaissance in the NWT. Inuit hunters add to and, sometimes correct, scientific knowledge using traditional ecological knowledge (Freeman, 1992). Although it remains for the validation of history, Inuit politicians appear to have masterminded the largest land claims settlement in the world. All of these achievements, including the latter, in my

opinion, are incumbent on intrinsic Inuit culture. The Inuit have reached out and shared with the rest of the world. In Chapter One, I pointed out that it is too late to hope that civilization never reaches the Inuit. Mark Gordon, from Northern Quebec, calls this inclination the desire to "pickle" the Inuit culture (Purich, 1992, p. 4). But the Inuit have no intention of being pickled and are fashioning a place for themselves in the world.

The Globe and Mail quotes Mary Simon, Canada's first Circumpolar Ambassador, that

> although the Inuit have been influenced greatly by southern culture... they are lucky not to have been demographically overwhelmed as happened to most other aboriginal groups. The North's climate... has served as the greatest protector of Inuit heritage. (p. A3)

I think that nuna vut will continue to protect and enhance the extraordinary identity of its people. Ishumavut[2].

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2 After an elder speaks at a public meeting, he or she often says this word. I am using this word as I understand it and have heard it translated. To me, it means, "that is what I think".

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Appendix A

Consent Form

Project Title: **Factors that Motivate Inuit Tradesmen to Complete Trade Apprenticeships**

Purpose: to develop a descriptive profile of the factors that motivate Inuit tradesmen to learn trades skills and to complete apprenticeship programs.

Reason: to provide information to people involved in training and trades in Nunavut. A copy of the final report will be provided to NTI, GNWT Education, Employment & Culture and to you.

Researcher's Name: Doris McCann
Box 13, Yellowknife, NT X1A 2N1
phone 403-920-4660
fax 403-920-2770

To be Signed by Participant

I have been fully informed of the objectives of the project conducted by Doris McCann. I understand these objectives and consent to being interviewed for the project. I understand that steps will be taken to ensure that this interview will remain confidential unless I consent to being identified. I also understand that, if I wish to withdraw from this study, I may do so. Any and all data that I provide may be withdrawn at my request.

Part I: Consent to be Interviewed

Name: (please print):_____

Signature:_____Date_____

Taped interviews will be transcribed. The tape and a copy of transcript will be returned to participant. When quotations are used, a pseudonym will be used.

Part II: Consent for Interview to be audio-taped.

Name: (please print):_____

Signature:_____Date_____

Taped interviews will be transcribed. The tape and a copy of transcript will be returned to participant. When quotations are used, a pseudonym will be used.

June 7, 1994

Tonja Joyce
Science Administrator
Science Advisory Services
Science Institute of the Northwest Territories
Box 1617
Yellowknife, NT X1A 2P2

Research Licence: **Factors that Motivate Inuit Tradesmen to Complete Trade Apprenticeships**

Thank you for your letter of May 31, 1994. Attached you will find,

1. Copies of correspondence to Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporate and the Department of Education, Employment and Culture. I have also spoken to these people.

2. Consent form, as requested.

In addition, please note that my project has been reviewed by the Ethics Committee of Adult, Career and Technology Education at University of Alberta.

I trust you will find this information complete. Please advise if you require further information

Yours truly

Doris McCann
Box 13
Yellowknife, NT
X1A 2N1

phone 920 4660
fax 920 2770